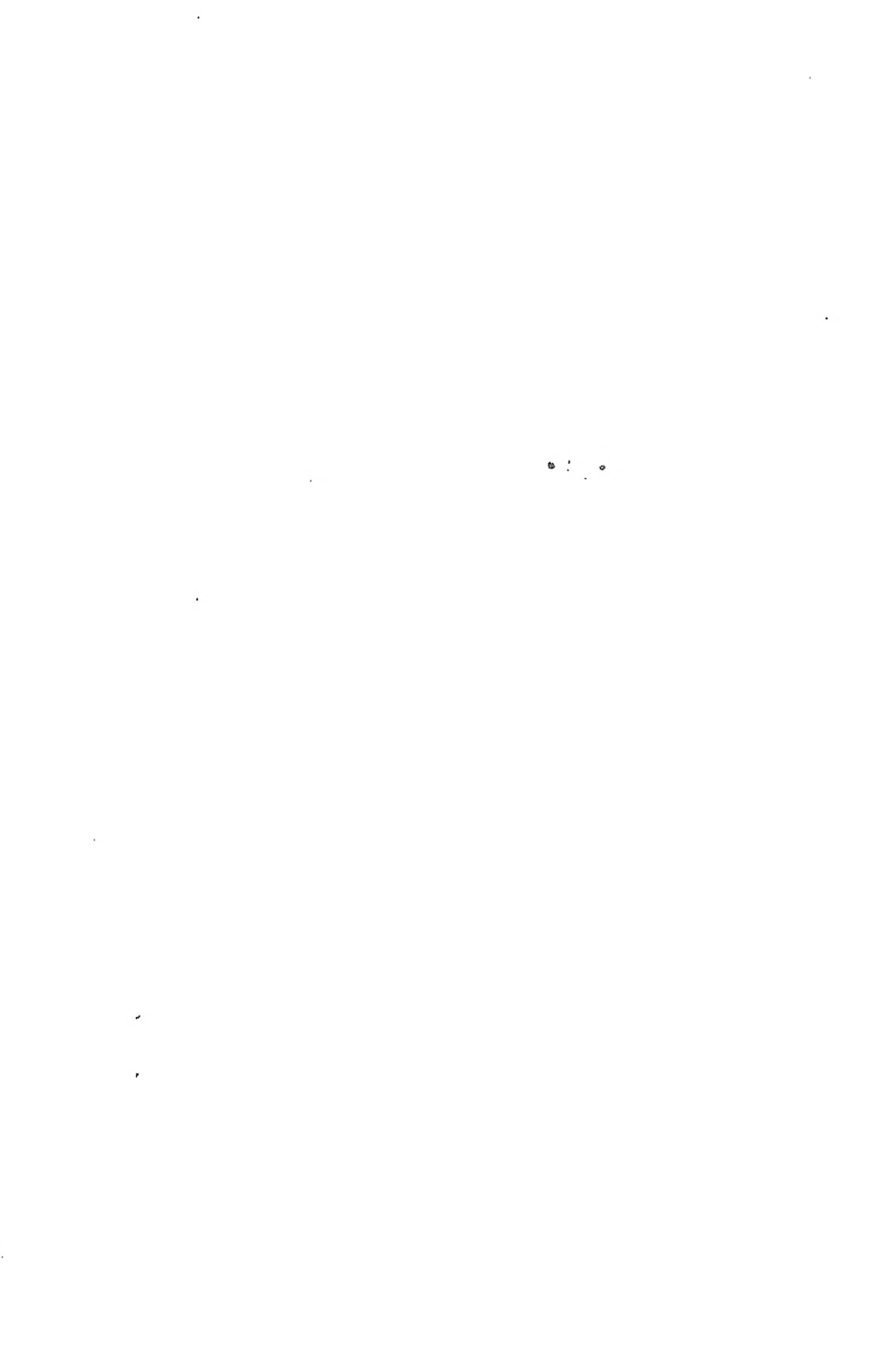


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OF
THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO

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EASTERN ASIA.

Edited by

J. R. LOGAN.

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THE
JOURNAL
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JOURNEY TO PASUMMAH LEBAR AND GUNUNG DEMPO, IN THE
INTERIOR OF SUMATRA.*

By E. PRESGRAVE.

Oct. 1. We left Manna at half past five for Marambung, our party consisting of myself, Mr Osborn, (whose object was the dissemination of the benefits of vaccination) and four Bugis for the the escort of our baggage, carried by twenty five coolies or porters. Arrived at Bundar Agung on the Manna river at nine o'clock, and reached Marambung at noon. The first part of the journey as far as Bundar Agung was performed on horseback : the roads, which pass over beautiful plains, were very good, excepting in some parts which the recent rains had rendered bad. The horses being fatigued we left them at Bundar Agung, and prosecuted the remaining part of the way to Marambung on foot. Our course during the day was E. N. E. and N. E. Experienced

* This account of a Journey performed in the year 1817, by order of Sir T. S. Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlborough, is reprinted from the *Bencoolen Miscellany*.

much inconvenience from the want of a proper compass, having none but a small boat compass, which being generally in the rear, caused much delay and vexation. The mountains were invisible the whole of the day, on account of the haziness of the weather, which was particularly unfavorable: and indeed we had but little reason to expect we should be more fortunate in this respect during our journey, the rainy season having set in with all its severity. Saw nothing worth remarking this day. The face of the country through which we passed, was in many places beautiful, but all interest was taken away by the waste and uncultivated aspect which it presented. Here and there indeed we did perceive the traces of human industry, but nothing was more striking than the want of population.

Oct. 2. Several of the coolies having run away during the night, we found it difficult to replace them, for which reason we did not leave Marambung till eight o'clock. We were last night joined by Pangeran Rajah Ngichor, a man of some authority in Pasummah Lebar; he was returning from the quallah with two cows which he had received as a present, one of which unfortunately died through fatigue on its arrival at Marambung. He, with the remaining one, brought up the rear of our party to-day. Kamumuan was the extent of this day's journey, where we arrived at half past four p. m., half dead with rain and mud. Mr Osborn being a heavy traveller did not come up till an hour afterwards. Here we erected temporary huts in the best way we could for the night, but could get nothing substantial enough to keep out the rain. We had now arrived at the foot of the first range of hills. The roads hitherto might be made very good: the only obstacle we met with was from the mud, which is always, but particularly at this season, very deep. Our course was to-day N. N. E.—rain the whole of the day, without any prospect of its ceasing during the night. Having travelled chiefly through woods, and the atmosphere being cloudy, no mountains or hills were visible to us. The cow, though sometimes more than half buried in the mud, managed to keep up with us.

Oct. 3. The broken and uncomfortable rest we experienced last night, but ill fitted us for the laborious task which we had to perform to-day. Mr Osborn rose with a fever. We crossed over

three ranges of hills during the day. The highest and by far the most arduous was one called Jambul Baniul, but from the top of another, Penningjowan Laut, we had a sight of the sea and all the intervening country. If I might hazard a guess where I had nothing to guide me but my eye, I think we might be on an elevation of about five thousand feet above the level of the sea. The climate was very cool and grateful: but not having a thermometer, we were unable to ascertain the precise degree of temperature. The thermometer, which had been with much difficulty borrowed in Bencoolen, was lost on its way down, and a barometer, with which we might have ascertained the height of the mountains, was absolutely unprocurable. A quadrant, which would have been useful, was left behind; so we were totally unprovided with every thing that could enable us to make accurate observations. Our day's work, though not our difficulties, ended at Alas Runny. Although we reached this spot about four o'clock, and a Talang was at no great distance, we were obliged to prepare for passing the night in this uncomfortable place, for having had scarcely any thing to eat since we commenced our journey in the morning, we were all pretty well tired, and I had become so weak and faint that it was impossible to proceed farther. A few branches of trees being collected together by the coolies, were formed into huts: miserable and wretched beyond description as these were, affording scarce any protection from the heavy rain, (which still continued to fall in torrents) they now seemed palaces. Having raised our huts, our next object was to dress some food, but in this, alas! we were disappointed, for every stick of the wood was so wet that it would not burn, and after wasting our oil and cutting up our walking sticks we were obliged to satisfy our ravenous appetites with a little half-dressed rice. The poor cow, which had surmounted all obstacles, now fared better than we, for the rain did not prevent it from satisfying its hunger from the leaves of the trees, on which it fed very heartily.

At about mid-night we were surprised by the appearance of Mr Church descending Bukit Ambarung Lampahung as we were ascending the same: he was on his return to Manna, being weary of waiting any longer at Pasumma Lebar. Mr Cudlipp, he informed us, was left at Sawa Batuhan Pasumma Lebar.

On meeting us he laid aside the idea of going to the coast and returned with us. Our party now consisted of Mr Church, Mr Osborn, and myself, with the addition of three Bugis and a few Pasummah Lebar chiefs, who were escorting Mr Church and his attendants to Manna.

The roads to-day were very bad, though not so much so as to prevent a horse from passing; this was proved by the arrival of the cow at Alas Runny, and also of three horses at Pasummah Lebar, which had been sent on before. The rains rendered the ascent and descent of the hills very slippery and difficult. A little labor might make the roads tolerably good. The one we passed had rather a singular appearance; sometimes for an hour or two together we travelled along ridges, in many parts not more than a fathom broad; each side of the path presented a frightful precipice of great depth, but the sides being clothed with vegetation, and trees of a large size growing to the very top, the mind was divested of the horror which it would have felt had these abysses been exposed to the naked view. These tremendous pits bear some resemblance to the extinct craters of volcanos, but their being found in the side of the mountain (whereas the craters of volcanos are for the most part situated at the summit or nearly so), their number, and probably the internal composition of the hills, would not perhaps be favorable to the opinion that they were once the vents of subterranean fire. I should therefore be more inclined to think that these abysses received their existence directly from the same powerful arm that formed the mountains themselves, with which they seem to be primæval. The three ranges of mountains are covered to their very summits with dark and gloomy forests, which appear to be as old as the hills on which they grow: some of the trees we observed to be of an immense girth.

Oct. 4. The day had far advanced before it fairly dawned upon us. The height of the surrounding hills almost excluded the light of the sun and lengthened our night full two hours. Alas Runny is merely a small stony island in the middle of a stream which flows into the Alas river. The hills open as it were to admit the passage of this insignificant stream. Added to our other difficulties we were in danger, had the rivulet swollen

during the night to any height, of being floated to the mouth of the Alas river. We did not set off this morning till seven o'clock, but were more fortunate in cooking our victuals than we had been the preceding night. We arrived at Tanjung Allum Pasummah Ulu Manna at two o'clock, having stopped to take some refreshment at Talang Dundei. At the latter place we met several of the Pasummah chiefs who had come thither for the purpose of escorting us to the village. We had not arrived at Tanjung Allum long, before we discovered that one of our coolies and his burden were missing. People were sent in all directions to search for him:—night came on, but no tidings of either the man or baggage were received. In order to shew their respect towards us, at night the young women of the village were assembled; this is their usual mode of receiving strangers. Tanjung Allum is a neat village, containing about thirty-six houses and a good Balei. The Balei is the public hall; here strangers of quality are received; here the public business is transacted and marriage ceremonies performed. The houses are here better built and much more commodious than any I have entered on the coast. The generality of them are from four to six fathoms in length, and each one is divided into two separate parts. On entering the door you ascend a ladder, which is nothing more than a rude solid block of wood set on end, with notches cut in it to serve for steps. This brings you to a staircase, on the right hand of which is the entrance to the common sitting room or Brogo; on the left are the private apartments or penetralia of the house. The latter are dark, having no windows for the admission of light; the Brogo or common apartment is well supplied with light and air, and in general is a pretty comfortable room. As usual we had our share of rain:—the direction of our course was this day northerly.

During our short stay in this village, we lost several things, the inhabitants having a most astonishing propensity to pilfering: we could not even help suspecting the honesty of the Pangeran himself. Our clothes, as they were hung up to dry in the Balei, came the worst off, and unless the servants had taken the precaution to tie them fast, the whole of them would have disappeared without exception. The pilferers seemed to understand their

profession very well: they gave us indeed a very high opinion of their adroitness in this way. Our servants complained bitterly; several of their clothes were stript from their very backs, and so cleverly was this species of denudation performed, that they all declared it must be done by incantation, and that the people were in league with devils.

Oct. 5. Having received a pressing invitation from Pangeran Putu Nangaro, Hakim for the tribe of Sumbei Besar, which we could not well refuse, we repaired from Tanjung Allum to Gunung Ayu, the village appointed by the Pangeran for our reception. Gunung Ayu is about three hours' journey from the village we last left.

The village of Gunung Ayu is rather larger than that of Tanjung Allum, though not near so neat or clean; it is indeed impossible to stir two yards from the Balei without being actually up to the knees in mud. This Pangeran seemed to have greater authority over his people than the chief of the former village. We lost nothing during our stay here, the Pangeran having declared on our arrival, that he would not screen any one who should be found stealing. He also gave orders for a strict watch to be kept during the night.

Oct. 6. Still at Gunung Ayu:—finding myself very ill, we were obliged to remain another day here, but our stay was rendered very disagreeable by the uncivil and rude behaviour of these barbarian chiefs. Yesterday a buffalo was killed out of compliment to us:—the conclusion of the feast was the most singular part of the ceremony. At night seven of the Proattins were sent into the Balei to us by the Pangerans or Hakims, to demand the immediate payment of the thirty dollars monthly pay, stipulated in the recent engagement, to be paid to each Hakim. The claim was delivered in a rude and imperious tone, giving us to understand that if we did not comply with their demand, they should consider such non-compliance a breach of treaty on the part of the Company, and feel themselves at liberty to return to their old system of warfare and depredation. After the many professions of friendship, (of which however these people are always very profuse,) we were not a little astonished at so much assurance and impudence. As to paying the money,

it was out of the question; we were very deficient in that article, not having enough to carry us through our journey. We replied that their present behaviour was not the way to gain any favors or indulgence from the Company; that, as to their returning to their former course of depredation, the Company were not so weak as to be intimidated by such threats; that they were always faithful to their agreements; that it was not in our power to pay them, having barely a sufficiency to carry us through our journey, but that we would give them a letter to Däing Indra, who would pay them what was due immediately on application being made in a proper manner. This answer was far from satisfying them; they only became more clamorous, saying the Pangerans had sent them for the money and money they must have. Finding it impossible to pacify them we sent them down, and ordered the two Pangerans themselves to come to us if they had any thing to say. On complaining to the Pangerans of the insulting behaviour of their deputies, and wishing to know whether it was by their orders that they dared to behave in the manner they had done; the Pangerans denied that they had acted with their knowledge or consent: they reprimanded their Proatins, and the affair ended with our giving one month's allowance to each Pangeran, and a note to Däing Indra for the payment of the two months. The smallness of our party subjected us no doubt to this insulting behaviour.

This afternoon our attention was suddenly roused by a great noise in the village, the people running in all directions; we soon learnt the meaning of this tumult. A man of Batu Ranching, whose father was shot when the sepoys under Colqnel Clayton were sent to destroy the villages in Pasummah Ulu Manna, having arrived at the village and heard that we were there, drew his sword, and in a transport of rage and fury, was proceeding to the Balci, the door of which he had nearly reached, crying out? "De mana orang puti?" "Where are the white men?" when he was stopped by the people, disarmed, and conveyed by them from the village. So bent was he on revenge, that he vowed he would yet accomplish his purpose, for nothing but the blood of an orang puti would satisfy the manes of his deceased father. Before quitting the village we were told that he and two or

three other desperadoes, who had suffered on the same occasion, intended to attempt their revenge by running amuk as we passed along the road.

Oct. 7. After great trouble and difficulty in procuring coolies, we at last got out of the village of Gunung Ayu, not one of our party caring if he never again saw it or its barbarians. But before we could get a supply of coolies, we were obliged to use threats; and even then two burdens were left behind. These, the Pangeran promised to bring with his own people. At four o'clock we reached Gunting, where, as the weather was bad, we resolved to pass the night in a deserted village, situated on a lofty hill, surrounded on its three sides by the Manna river, which here divides itself into two streams that shortly after meet again. Gunting, as the term signifies, is a pass or defile, and the only road of communication between Pasummah Ulu Manna and Pasummah Lebar. Here with much difficulty the cow was got up; from the steepness of the cliff, it had been necessitated to remain in the river the whole night. The passage is so narrow in one part, and so strongly fortified by nature on every side, that one man might keep almost a whole army at bay. It was formerly resorted to as a place of refuge by the inhabitants of Negri Kayu, who, being worsted by their enemies on the plains below, thought to maintain themselves against superior numbers in this natural fortress. Their enemies pursued them hither but were baffled in all their attempts to take the place by storm. Nine weeks were consumed in making these fruitless attempts, when, despairing of ever being able to reduce the place, they turned the siege into a blockade: famine at length compelled the besieged to capitulate, but on honorable terms. Among the ruins of this village we passed the night. It has not yet been our lot to experience one fine day. The mountains around us have been continually kept from our view, now by surrounding woods—now by the cloudiness of the atmosphere.

Pasummah Ulu Manna was first peopled by migrations from Pasummah Lebar. The inhabitants consist of three independent tribes, Ana Panjallang, Sumbei Besar and Sumbei Ulu Lura; each having its kindred one at Pasummah Lebar. The first is the most ancient, though the least numerous. The Pasirahs of the respective tribes at Pasummah Lebar, claim them as their sub-

jects, and have or had a nominal authority ; but distance from the mother country and a spirit of independence, have encouraged them to shake off their allegiance to their lawful chiefs, and each petty head of a village considers himself as entirely independent of every other master as the Emperor of China does, and rules in his own name.

The individuals of which these tribes are composed, in the general out-line of their features, resemble those of the coast, but are in general a more robust and hardy race of men. Their superiority in this respect may be attributed to the climate, and the mountainous state of the land which they occupy. They are less averse to labour than their western neighbours.

Their customs, manners, and language, differ very little from what I have witnessed among the country people bordering on the west, and nothing from those of Pasummah Lebar.

The villages in Pasummah Ulu Manna are said to be twenty-two in number ; and from what we observed of those through which we passed, each, on an average, may consist of thirty houses or families, which, allowing eight persons to a house, will make the total population about five thousand two hundred.

Oct. 8. From Gunting we passed on to Gunung Agung, the first village of Pasummah Lebar you meet with after leaving Pasummah Ulu Manna. At midday we took refreshment in the Manna river near to the foot of Gunung Dempo, an arm of which we passed over shortly after. The stream here is not more than a fathom across ; its water is extremely cold, leaving a vapour on the glass, and is strongly impregnated with sulphur. Here we picked up some stones and the people made great murmurs at carrying, as they said, such useless things. Had a fine view of the mountain bearing West at the distance of about four miles ; could distinguish a small stream about two thirds of its height gushing from its side ; this they told us was the source of the Manna river. The summit of the mountain appears to be entirely naked ; could not distinguish any smoke, the place from whence it issues being situated on the other side. The roads to-day were very bad on account of the depth of the mud, added to which the leeches were particularly annoying. Of these there are two kinds, the common black mud leech, and a small green one which falls

from the branches above. The latter is very fine and penetrates through every thing : its bite is painful, like the stinging of a nettle. Passed along elephant tracks for a considerable distance. Our main course to-day was E. N. E. winding round the foot of the mountain.

Arrived at Gunung Agung about four o'clock. The village is larger than any I have seen yet, containing about eighty houses, all well built and of a commodious size. The mode of building here is exactly similar to that of other villages which we saw at Pasummah Ulu Manna, excepting here they appear to be more profuse of ornaments. The houses are arranged so as to form a square, with two or three rows running parallel to each other at right angles to the side, thereby forming streets. The Balei is large and good, except that it wants at present a new thatch, which we found to our annoyance. The Tongkiangs, or granaries, are all built on one spot on the outside of the village. There is a very fine tank of considerable depth belonging to the village; its water is as clear as crystal and excessively cold; it is fed by a stream from the mountain, which is the reason of its coldness. Bathed in it: all our people, and some of the natives who followed our example, were laid up with an ague and fever.

The people of this village are particularly affected with goitres, some of which grow to an immense size, and render the patient a disgusting object. Among themselves they do not look upon these monstrous excrescences as deformities, nor do they seem to experience any pain or inconvenience from them. The inhabitants on the plains are entirely free from the disorder, while as you approach the hills almost every individual is affected with it. The natives themselves attribute it to drinking the water of some particular stream.

The climate is extremely cold during the night and before sun rise. Here again we have to regret the loss of the thermometer. This village is situated at the foot of Gunung Dempo at the distance of about two miles, the mountain bearing N.W. by N. We stopped at this village two days and then went on to Sawah Batuhan, distant about fifteen miles.

Oct. 11. During our stay at Gunung Agung, the cooly whom we lost on our entrance into Pasummah Ulu Manna, was returned

with some part of the things that were taken from him. It appeared that two persons of this village, who were residing at Batu Ranching, at the time we passed, for the recovery of some money due to them from the inhabitants of that village, had received this man and a part of the things in payment for the debt.—Arrived at Sawah Batuhan at four p. m. where we found Mr Cudlipp and one of the Pasirahs (Radin Lawangan) waiting for us. We learnt with regret that the other three Pasirahs had gone to attend some ceremonial at a distant village, and that we should not have an opportunity of meeting them until their return, which we were given to understand, would take place in five or six days. We wished to meet them at the village, but this we were told could not be done, so we were obliged to content ourselves with the prospect of an imprisonment for eight or ten days in this village. We were conducted to the Balei, which was prepared for our reception; and indeed it appeared a very comfortable abode compared with the miserable huts we had been obliged to put up with on the road. Our journey from the last village has been principally over plains, and through very extensive Sawah grounds; we also passed through several Ladangs. The chief and almost only articles of cultivation besides padi, are tobacco and kalawi, the plant from which the pulas is produced. The soil is of a fine black loam of very considerable depth, the horses' feet sinking in as they passed over it. We were very near to the great mountain the whole day, winding round the east side of it. On our arrival here we found one of our horses had died suddenly: its death was supposed to have been occasioned by its having eaten some noxious herb which grows amongst the grass. The natives ate some part of the carcass, pillaged the bones, and even before death robbed it of all its mane and tail. As this was the first time a horse had been seen in the country, it excited much curiosity among the native; some exclaimed, 'It has four legs!' others 'where are its horns?' with several remarks of this kind. They made three or four attempts to steal them, and one night succeeded so far as to convey two of them to a considerable distance from the village. This was done no doubt in expectation of receiving a reward on their return. We prepared for passing a more comfortable night than we had done since we left Manna, and every thing seemed to promise that

we should rest well. We went to sleep rejoiced to think that we had got among a more civil race of men, and we seemed not to regret the length of our stay here, as we hoped in the interim to have an opportunity of seeing more of this beautiful country; besides we now resolved, if practicable, to visit the summit of the mountain Dempo.

Oct. 13. In order that we might have an opportunity of seeing the country, we this day proposed a walk to Bukit Kayu Manis, a small hill distant from the village about eight miles and said to contain stones of a peculiar and rare sort: they produced one which seemed to contain a considerable quantity of metal. We set out on this short excursion about eight o'clock in the morning. The hill derives its name from the cassia trees which, we were told, formerly grew there in great abundance, though at this day there are none to be seen. The jealousy of the natives, which now for the first time began to manifest itself, and their general deportment towards us, entirely shut us out from the only channel of information. Some refused to admit us into their Ladangs, and one man whom we met alone on the road, and of whom we civilly enquired the way to the hill, surlily replied he would not shew it; but this we compelled him to do, and he went with us a short distance, but he soon escaped from us. We at length ascended the hill and in a small rivulet which flowed down its declivity, we searched for the stones which had excited our curiosity to visit this place. We found several, but only a small piece that appeared to contain any metal and which the natives call Batu Intan, or diamond stone. It is probably a variety of iron pyrites. Having satisfied our curiosity and brought away with us several specimens of stones and earth, we returned towards the village whence we came, and entering several Ladangs, where the chief occupation of the inhabitants appeared to be the preparation of the pulas, we fell in with the man who refused to shew us the road and who had disappeared from us so suddenly on our going to the hill. When we first met him he was unarmed, but now he had taken the precaution to provide himself with a sword and a spear, and even had the audacity when we passed to unsheath them and to put himself in a threatening posture: he remained in this way some time, brandishing his spear in his right hand and a kriss in his left, bid-

ding defiance to our whole party, which did not consist of less than sixteen or seventeen persons. By way of apology for such rude and inhospitable conduct towards strangers, the natives said the man was mad : we might have inferred as much perhaps from his actions, but these people are too apt to excuse the brutal and treacherous behaviour of their fellow countrymen in this way. The man who was rushing into the Balei at Gunung Ayu in Pasumma Ulu Manna, breathing murder and revenge against us, was pronounced to be mad ; so were the others who had joined with him to way-lay us.

Oct. 14. Although the people of this village were particularly civil and attentive to us, our yesterday's journey taught us that the whole of the country were not very well pleased at the appearance of white men ; this we could gather from their reluctance to admit us into other villages and hamlets, and from their sour and ungracious deportment towards us. The reply to any question we put to them was usually prefaced with, ' Why do you ask this ? '—' Why do you wish to know ' such or such a thing ?—indeed it was plain to see they looked on us with an eye of suspicion. The remarks which those natives who followed us, and were most friendly to our cause, made amongst themselves, indicated that the same suspicions were universal.

They would frequently say to one another ' why do these gentlemen delight to walk about ? '—why do they ask this thing or that ?—another would reply, ' they want to find out the best roads, &c. for the sepoy's that are to follow them.' ' The Company are in search of a good spot on which to build a godown.' They appeared not to entertain a better idea of our persons and colour than of our views and intentions, for on entering a village to-day, a tall spare figure, more resembling a spirit broken loose from the infernal religions than a human being, with one of the largest wens on his throat I have ever seen, came up to us and after surveying us with an attentive eye for some time at length exclaimed aloud, ' these are the white men we have so often heard of ! Here they are like devils ! ' For this remark he received a rebuke from his fellow country-men when he slunk away ashamed.

Radin Mangalo, one of the principal chiefs, is said to have in his possession a very ancient spear, endowed with miraculous

qualities. It is asserted that it has been known to speak; in war it is invincible, causing a whole host to fly before it, and in cases of great emergency it is frequently consulted as an oracle, when it gives counsel in an audible voice: in short it is as much consulted and venerated by these ignorant people, as the Delphic Oracle was among the Greeks; and its responses, I make no doubt, are delivered in the same ambiguous terms. When it is taken out of the temple, where it is carefully deposited, the people fall down before it. None may sleep with his feet towards the place in which it is kept. Our servants and even ourselves were frequently rebuked for disrespect of this kind—the illness of some of our people was attributed by the natives to similar inadvertencies. It was to consult this supernatural spear that the chiefs had gone when we first arrived; and it is hinted that we were the cause of the meeting, and the subject of their deliberation; but what the spear said with regard to us we could never learn. No wonder that the possessor of such a miraculous spear should be looked up to and feared!

Oct. 16. The natives appeared astonished at the trouble we took in collecting stones. They told us there were some at a small distance resembling in colour pieces of silver, and proposed to point out the spot—we assented, and curiosity led us to the place. After walking for about half an hour in a northerly direction from the village, we arrived at a low swampy flat where they said the stones were to be found. Here they pointed out a small aperture in the ground, about five or six inches in circumference through which the water continually bubbled up: this we discovered to be a mineral spring, the water of which had discoloured the stones and given them the appearance they had described to us. We tasted the water and found it very disagreeable. The people told us they had frequently remarked that birds and beasts, particularly buffaloes, at times resorted to the spot to drink the water. There is a stream of fresh water close by it; perhaps this is what attracts the animals from the neighbouring plains, and not the spring water. After bringing away different specimens of stones, we returned to our lodging.

Oct. 18. The report of the preceding day was verified by the actual return of the Pasirahs, and the day spent in receiving compli-

mentary visits from them and other chiefs. They gave us a cordial welcome into their country, and each offered a small present of rice, fruit and fowls, as token of his friendly disposition towards us. Radin Mangalo was the first to do these honors. He is the chief of the tribe of Sumbie Ulu Lurah, which is now the most numerous. This latter circumstance is one great cause of his popularity, for his tribe possessing a greater numerical strength than any other Pasirah's, he is more feared. Radin Mangalo was followed by the remaining two, Radin Lawangan having already paid his respects on our arrival. These persons were nothing behind the former in expressions of friendship towards the Company. Nothing farther was transacted this day, excepting that three days were allowed to assemble their inferior chiefs to ratify the agreement previously entered into with Mr. Church.

Oct. 21. The village this day was crowded with people at an early hour, and preparations were made for proceeding to business in due form. The Balei being too small to admit the whole of the chiefs and visitors without convenience, benches were erected for us and the Pasirahs under the shade of some trees, in the middle of the village. All things being prepared, we took our seats in the midst of an astonished multitude. Silence being obtained, and having premised what the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor had effected in Pasumma Ulu Manna (when he visited that country in person in May last), we repeated to the chiefs the object of our mission, viz. First to effect a good understanding and friendly intercourse, and to re-establish peace on a sure and permanent foundation between the countries of Pasumma Lebar and Manna. Secondly, to promote a reconciliation between them and their northern neighbours the Lintangs, or Ampat Lawang, as that country is more usually termed; and for that purpose to proceed thither by their assistance through their country. Thirdly, from Lintang to proceed to Bencoolen by way of Kasambye and Musi. We then took occasion to acquaint them that the Lieutenant-Governor had learnt with feelings of the deepest sorrow the ravages which the small-pox was making around them, and even in their country: that to avert the impending calamity, he had sent by us a certain remedy called Ubat Tangkal Janeria, by the application of which this implacable disease would be rendered

harmless; adding that if they would submit their Anak Buahs to receive the remedy, Mr Osborn was at all times ready to do what was requisite. We strongly recommended them to bring their people immediately to be vaccinated, and offered to go ourselves to any village that would receive it. We urged them to take advantage of the present opportunity, offered to them by the bounty of the Lieutenant-Governor, to save themselves from destruction; reminding them, that if they did not embrace it now, it would be for ever lost to them; that when they saw their country desolated by that dreadful scourge of the human race, they would, when too late, repent of their folly: that their Dewas, who are compassionate beings and delight not in misery, would perhaps have no mercy on them should they remain obstinately bent on their own ruin: and that they ought to consider such an inestimable gift as proceeding immediately from those benignant deities, who to snatch them from the jaws of death, had caused the Tangkal or charm to be introduced into their country. These points having been explained to them by Mr Church previous to my arrival in Pasummah, and engagements drawn up to which they had given their assent and signatures, they now merely repeated the earnest wish and desire they had before expressed, to embrace the present opportunity under the auspices of the new Governor of Bencoolen, to place themselves under the protection and authority of the Honorable English East India Company. With regard to the Lintangs, they said, they were most anxious that the calamities of fifty years' warfare should be terminated, and a mutual friendship restored between them and their neighbours; but to the accomplishment of this desirable object they feared the inveterate and sworn hatred of the Lintangs, would prove an insurmountable obstacle. At the present moment no Pasummah dare set his foot in Lintang, the intervening country being thickly planted with dangerous ranjous; and even so late as Mr Church's arrival, nine villages of Pasummah Lambah had been totally destroyed by the ferocious incursions of this people. Under these circumstances no one could venture to accompany us, unless the Lintang chiefs would first pledge themselves that a strict neutrality should be observed during their stay with us: in this case they would willingly furnish coolies for our baggage, and themselves escort us

thither.—Respecting our return to Bencoolen by way of Kasambye and Musi, they had nothing to say, as the country through which we proposed to pass, did not belong to them; but if that was our determination, they had no objection to send deputies to attend us to Fort Marlborough, at the same time expressing their own inability, on account of their great age, to accompany us through so long and difficult a journey.—Touching the small-pox, they replied, that they fully appreciated the good intention of the Lieutenant-Governor towards them, that the disease had visited one or two of the villages, but again had disappeared; and although they would before have been glad to receive the Tangkal, the efficacy of which they did not doubt, yet as the infection had now left their country, they did not think they should stand in need of it; but they would consult with their people on the subject, and those who wished to receive it would attend on us for the purpose. Things thus far equalled our most sanguine wishes, and the conference being at an end the treaty was ratified by firing three volleys of musketry; and to testify their satisfaction, the Pasīrahs ordered the young men and women to dance before us. The last as a mark of respect presented their sirī boxes, which we returned with small presents. Other amusements of the country, such as fencing, &c. were exhibited for our diversion. The chiefs then begged that we would permit our followers to perform some of the sports peculiar to the country, in order that they might see the manners of different people. To this we readily assented, and they appeared to be highly diverted with the Bengalees, who exhibited fencing and single stick; and indeed the quick motions and home thrusts of the latter, formed a singular contrast with the unnatural and slow measured paces of the former. They observed that the sepoys, meaning the Bengalees, well deserved the name of Ulubalang Company, i. e. champions or warriors of the Company.—The amusements being at an end, the meeting broke up with an invitation from the chiefs to partake of a feast, which they were preparing for us, each tribe having provided a buffalo for the occasion. It is usual with this people on the conclusion of any affair of an important and public nature, to slaughter a buffalo and assemble the inhabitants of the surrounding villages in ratification of what has been transacted :

without this ceremony the business is in some degree considered incomplete. All parties having eaten together, and mutually joined in the festivities of the occasion, any future infringement of the engagements, which are the cause of the meeting, is looked upon by them as a greater offence, and therefore deserving a heavier punishment, than if no such meeting had taken place: besides among a people who are ignorant of the advantage of writing, and who have no public records, this perhaps is the only way in which the knowledge of past transactions can be preserved. In this manner an affair of general concern is made public, and the memory of it recorded in the minds of each member of the community: in this way war is declared and peace proclaimed. Three days were announced to us as the period necessary to prepare for the feast.

Oct. 23. Our wants now began to be felt;—we were necessitated to reserve our last two bottles of wine for the entertainment, intended to take place on the following day. We found considerable inconvenience in procuring fowls and other supplies; not from any scarcity of these articles, for they appeared to be in abundance, but on account of our rupees, which, to our daily loss, we found were not current here, Spanish dollars were in great request and the smaller silver coins, such as fanams, would pass. This day we were obliged to exchange our rupees at the loss of fifty per cent.; but this rate of exchange was continually varying as our wants became better known, and they sometimes had the impudence to refuse our money even at that rate. The reason of this was that the people of Pasummah Lebar were dependent on Palembang for salt, and their finer articles of clothing; the former is indispensable, and cannot be purchased with rupees, which they told us were not current at Palembang.

Oct. 24. The third day had now arrived and preparations were busily making for the ensuing entertainment.—The sun at last beamed on us, and the village was thronged with visitors from distant parts. About one o'clock the dinner began to make its appearance in a profusion of dishes, brought into the Balei by the females of the village, the very sight of whom would blunt the edge of the keenest appetite. Upwards of fifty dishes were arranged before us on the floor of the Balei, for we must here notice

that we had neither table nor chairs. The four Pasirahs then made their appearance, attended by a large retinue of inferior chiefs, who seated themselves cross-legged before us. Radin Mangalo then called upon one of the Pangerans to address us, which he did in an appropriate manner—glancing at the calamities of the former war, and congratulating us on the present happy termination of them, and hoping that the peace would be lasting and productive of great benefit to both parties. They trusted in a short time, they should view the pleasing prospect of herds of cattle grazing on their plains. This they said was not visionary, for the introduction of two head into their country warranted the conclusion. They also felicitated themselves on the appearance of Europeans among them.—An answer was returned on our part, after which we were invited to eat and drink freely, and by that act consign all animosities to oblivion. The dinner being over they entertained us with music, dancing and singing in the manner of the country. In the evening the young women were called up to enliven the scene. Late in the evening it was intimated to us that in return for their courtesy towards us, they expected something on our part. Here we found ourselves in rather a delicate situation, not having it in our power, on the spot, to make a present suitable to the rank and character of the Pasirahs. To this singular request we replied, that a great portion of our baggage being left behind for want of coolies, the presents which were intended for them, had not arrived, but if they, or their deputies, would accompany us through Lintang to Bencoolen, we should there have an opportunity of testifying, by suitable gifts, the sense we entertained of the hospitality we had met with during our stay at Pasumamah. This answer was far from being satisfactory to our hosts, and they now showed us a piece of rudeness, which, from their former behaviour, we had no reason to expect. They said that on occasions like the present, it was customary to give mutual tokens of good will; that on their part, they had given us an entertainment as a mark of their friendship towards us, but they received nothing from us by which they could judge that we were sincere in our professions. They informed us that without some token of this kind they could not accompany us a step beyond the limits of the village which we were in, nor would they assist us with coolies to carry our baggage; that we were at liber

ty either to return to Manna, or proceed on our journey, but they would render us no assistance, not so much as a guide to point out the road. They said this determination of theirs must not be considered a breach of the friendly alliance just concluded with us; the custom of their country would not allow of their acting in any other way: that to follow us to Manna or Bencoolen for any thing we might chuse to give them, had too much the appearance of being mercenary. The harmony and friendship which was so lately seen among us, was for a time suspended, and our hosts retired with sullenness from the Balei.

Finding all our supplies exhausted, we found it impossible to proceed to Lintang until we had obtained our baggage, which, as we have before noticed, was left at one of the Manna villages; besides, our cash was not sufficient to carry us round to Bencoolen. We therefore resolved to send back some Bugis to Manna to obtain what was necessary. We communicated this resolution to the Pasirahs to whom it appeared satisfactory, as it gave them hopes that the presents would shortly arrive; and they invited us to remain in their country until the return of the Bugis from Manna. However satisfactory this might be to these barbarians, it was extremely mortifying to us, as at least ten days must elapse before the return of the people; and we were already tired of both the country and its inhabitants.

Oct. 26. The Bugis being dispatched to Manna for money and supplies, we determined to fill up the interim by fulfilling the resolution we had made of visiting the summit of Gunung Dem-po, or the sacred mountain; for in that light, it is viewed by the natives themselves, who conceive that the guardian genius of the country has his abode in it; and that the dewas and inferior deities have also their residence there. Our object was if possible to reach the Telago or crater. With this view we called for Panglimo, who had been our guide from the coast, and whom we found on all occasions a most useful and faithful man. Panglimo was a man of desperate fortune; he had been banished by his relations, and his attachment to us, as he acknowledged, arose from the pecuniary aid he received, and not from any sincere wish to forward the views of the Company. Since the Governor's first journey to Pasummah, he said he had realized upwards of one

hundred and twenty dollars, which had enabled him to discharge a large portion of his debts. He confessed himself to have been one of the greatest *risaus* in the whole country; and indeed from the countenance of the man, you would judge him to be capable of executing the most desperate deed: a few dollars would induce him to take away the life of his nearest relation, or betray his country. Panglimo was the only man in all Pasummah, who would undertake the arduous task of conducting us to the top of the mountain. Twenty dollars was to be his reward for performing this service. Not knowing the road, he succeeded, by the promise of five dollars, in procuring a man who professed to be acquainted with it to accompany him. This man was an Imam, whom, from the sanctity of his character, Panglimo considered necessary to ensure success, as he would deprecate the wrath of the deities, and render them propitious to our undertaking. This was to be accomplished by previous sacrifice and fasting; and the day before we set out, the Imam performed this part of the ceremony by killing a fowl.

Oct. 27. The Imam having announced this as a lucky day (for we were obliged to give way to his prejudices), we set out with our fearless guide, our party, including coolies and attendants, amounting to eighteen persons. We did not think it necessary to acquaint the chiefs with our design, anticipating that they would in consequence of their superstitious prejudices make objections, raise difficulties, and perhaps finally hinder us from accomplishing our object. We therefore told them that we were going to the foot of the mountain, but did not acquaint them that we intended to attempt to ascend to any height. We set forward on our expedition in the morning, passing through several of their villages before we came to the foot of the mountain. At a small elevation from its foot, we saw several of the magnificent flowers found by the Governor on his tour to Pasummah Ulu Manna.* Some were full blown; others in the bud, and the buds of others were just emerging from darkness. We continued our ascent, marking the spots where the flowers grew, in order that we might take some of them with us as specimens on our return. Night was now drawing on, and finding ourselves fatigued we began to

* Since described in the Linnæan Transactions as *Rafflesia Arnoldi*.

look out for a convenient spot on which to raise our huts. Hearing the rushing of water below us, we were induced to descend, in hopes of obtaining a good supply of water, which appeared to be scarce in this place. On descending a deep ravine we found ourselves on the banks of the river Salangis. This river runs through the whole of the Pasumma Lebar country in an easterly direction, and at last empties itself into that of Palembang. In this place the river is very narrow; its banks are formed of a black sand, resembling, except in colour, that of the sea beach. The silence of the stream is here interrupted by an abrupt cataract, over which the water is precipitated with great impetuosity; this was the cause of the noise we heard for the greater part of the afternoon. We at first pitched our tent opposite to the cataract, but the rushing of the water caused a draft of air which pierced so keenly, that we were obliged to remove it to a greater distance. At times there was such a strong smell of sulphur, that it became almost intolerable. The water was also so impregnated with this mineral as to render it undrinkable, and we were obliged to make use of what we could catch from the side of the rock.

On examining our provisions, we found the steward had laid in so scanty a stock as would serve the whole of our party only another day; we therefore sent back several of our followers, taking with us only such as were absolutely necessary. The number of our party thus curtailed, consisted of eleven, viz. Mr. Church, Mr. Cudlipp, myself, three servants, three coolies, and the two guides.

Oct. 28. Early in the morning, after partaking of a slight breakfast, not daring to indulge lest our stock should fail us before we had completed our undertaking, we ascended from this singular spot and made another effort to gain the summit of our ambition. We reached the top of the ravine, and bending our course W. N. W. proceeded through deep forests, in which no human traces were to be discovered. Our only path was one that had been opened to us by the passage of elephants: the traces of these masters of the desert were visible in every direction. We passed through what is called by the natives the region of tigers: the superstitious inhabitants of the surrounding country imagine that there is a stream in these parts, which when passed over by a

human being, possesses the virtue of transforming him to that ferocious animal, and on his return, of restoring him to his original shape. From this fabulous story we expected to find the woods infested with tigers, but to our astonishment we discovered nothing that could lead us to suppose, that these animals had deserted the plains to take up their abode in the mountain. During the day we remarked the foot-steps of the rhinoceros and the wild goat. Our two guides were employed as we proceeded in cutting the small and low branches, and notching the trunks of trees which grew in our path, in order to serve as marks on our return to prevent the possibility of our wandering from the right course. Our ascent during the day was pretty gradual and regular; at intervals, however, this regularity was interrupted by abrupt acclivities of one hundred feet; and having gained the top of these the ascent became less steep, and in some places almost subsided into a plain. We passed over four of these *Tangu Gunung** to-day. Towards evening we found ourselves beyond the deep wood. The tall and majestic trees of the forest seemed suddenly to have vanished from our view, and those of a smaller and more sickly growth to have taken their place. The road became almost impassable on account of thorns and briers, which were so thickly interwoven as to present an almost insurmountable obstacle to our progress. The poor and exhausted coolies, with the greatest difficulty dragged their burdens through these formidable opponents; indeed we, who were not encumbered with any thing extraneous, could scarcely pass: the naked bodies of our servants gushed with blood in every part, and our own clothes were torn off our backs. We eat nothing during the day excepting some of the fruit of the forests, called by the natives *bunah salak*. Night now came on apace, and we looked for a stream of water to enable us to prepare our evening fare, but none could we discover, so we were obliged to content ourselves with a small quantity of muddy water, found in hollow place made by some animal, which from the traces in the neighbourhood, we supposed to be the rhinoceros.

Having rested a little from the fatigues of the day, in vain we looked for the plains we had left yesterday morning; the face of

* So-called by the natives: the term signifies, *ladders of the mountain*.

the earth below was concealed from our sight; clouds and darkness rolled under our feet. We found ourselves above the summit of the surrounding mountains, and for the first time in our lives heard the thunder roll beneath us. The heavens above frowned, as in anger at the presumption of man in daring to enter these aerial abodes; and the roaring of the volcano at intervals impressed us with a kind of sacred awe, as if we had in reality approached the habitation of celestial beings. These were only the fore-runners of the deluge which was to follow. The gloomy spot in which we were doomed to pass the night far surpassed the power of description;—on one side, the steep acclivity of the mountain—on the other, a deep precipice—not a tree to afford us a covering or protection from the threatening storm, and scarcely a bit of dry wood to light a fire. In this situation we were enveloped in total darkness. The thunder grew louder, the lightning more vivid; while the volcano above us continued its frightful roarings. At length the storm burst upon us in all its fury. Our light and fire were suddenly extinguished and we were necessitated to eat in the dark a half prepared meal. We then sat down to wait the holding up of the rain, but we soon lost all hope of a calm interval. The storm continued with unabated violence until near day-light. Fatigued by the arduous task of the day, and with little to eat, we would fain have relieved our troubles by sleep; but to sleep in our condition was certain death. Besides the rain which poured in at every part of our hut, the torrent which rushed down the mountain threatened to sweep us below. We wrapped ourselves up in blankets, but these were very soon soaked through; indeed we appeared to be sitting in the bed of a river rather than on firm ground. The air was bitterly cold; our shivering people murmured loudly; we had never felt it so cold since we left England. If we attempted to talk or laugh, our guide, the Imam, in a trembling voice, begged we would be silent and not provoke the already angry gods. We asked whence proceeded the roarings we heard above us. Panglimo told us they came from the Telago, or crater of the volcano, and desired we would ask no questions about this frightful place. Towards morning the rain in some degree abated, when Messrs Church and Cudlipp very imprudently went to sleep in

the wet condition in which they were. Day-light at length made its appearance, and again the men attempted to light fires, which were most desirable; for, from the uncomfortable manner in which we had passed the night, our followers were half dead with hunger, cold and wet; and indeed although two of us had been accustomed to the severities of an European winter, we were all most happy to enjoy the comfort of the fire side, even in the heart of Sumatra.

Oct. 29. Having partaken of a little unsavory rice, without even salt or chillies to render it palatable, we prepared for another day's labor. From the difficulty we experienced yesterday in bringing the baggage as far as this, we conceived that greater obstacles lay before us. We therefore resolved to leave the coolies and baggage in the hut, and proceeding unencumbered to the summit of the mountain, return if possible to the place where we slept last night, before the close of the day, which our guide told us could be accomplished. We did not proceed far before we found that we were correct in regard to the difficulties we had anticipated; for now the ascent was steep and the briers became thicker and more closely entwined together, so that it was an absolute impossibility to penetrate through them. Here we began to look on our object as unattainable: we unsuccessfully sought for some sort of path along which we might pass. The same insurmountable obstacles beset us on all sides and no choice appeared to be left but to retrace our steps to the hut: yet when we turned our heads and beheld the lofty summit above us, and volumes of dark smoke rolling on its dusky and naked top, we felt an irresistible desire to surmount every difficulty and face every danger. Our progress being thus impeded, we could not help noticing the strange aspect of the scene around us: the grand majestic trees of the forest, whose venerable trunks had withstood the shocks and storms of ages, no longer struck our eyes, but in their stead thorns and briers, and trees of a diminutive growth. What was most singular, all around us were seen the dead trunks of trees, some of which had attained to a large size and considerable height, standing erect without a single branch. All these trunks being black, as if burnt by lightning, we conceived it

probable that some violent shock of nature, not far back, had reduced the former flourishing wood to its present blasted condition. Perhaps some recent eruption from the volcano might have produced this effect; or might not noxious exhalations arising from the crater have checked, and nearly destroyed vegetation in this part?—we were sensible of a very strong smell of sulphur.

It was now for the first time, that we saw the stout hearted Panglimo shrink from difficulty. The man who seemed calculated to perform the labors of Hercules, and who ever made it his boast that he had encountered danger in every shape, was the first to sound a retreat. "You see," said he, "the gods are not propitious to our undertaking:—they have shut up the road against us:—they will bewilder us in this desert place:—we cannot proceed." We all appeared to incline to this advice, but each felt ashamed of a defeat. Again we endeavoured to penetrate the thick briers;—again Panglimo turned pale: "It is vain to contend against the gods," he said, and sat down. I rallied him, and taking the sword, which now served as a pruning hook, from his hand, endeavoured to cut through the brambles, but their stems were so tough and closely interwoven that it made no impression. This was sufficient for Panglimo who started up, and mounting with his naked feet upon the thorns, instead of forcing a passage through them, walked on the top: we all followed him, and in this way proceeded by slow degrees, for an hour or two. Having surmounted this formidable obstacle, we met with another not less discouraging. Instead of thorns and briers we now had to walk over the trunks of trees, that were thrown down and piled on each other. They appeared to have lain in this state for a long time, for some were decayed, others decaying, and the whole covered over with a sort of vegetation which sprang from their mould. We were two or three hours walking over these wrecks of the forests, at the imminent hazard of slipping through the interstices of the trunks, and thus of being buried alive, or else of breaking our bones. During the whole time we did not once set our foot on firm ground, or see the soil over which we were walking, nor by putting our sticks through could we reach the bottom. The vegetation of ages

appeared to be piled up here in a wildly extended, and confused mass, and we seemed to have approached the brink of general destruction and desolation. We found that we were on a ridge of the mountain: on each side of us was a precipice of immense depth. The ridge grew narrower at every step. The day was bright, and looking down, the country immediately subjected to our view was beyond imagination beautiful;—extensive plains, scattered over with smoking villages;—pools of water reflecting the rays of the sun;—to the north the Musi river, called by these people the sea of Musi. Having stayed a short time to contemplate this scene, we again set forward and made another effort to gain the top of the mountain. Our path was now comparatively smooth, but steep of ascent: we no longer found any of our former obstacles. The only vegetation on this part is a sort of shrub, very much resembling the box tree; the natives call it *Kayu umur panjang*, or the tree of long life, and say it is only to be met with on the top of this mountain. The shrub is about six feet high, and appears to be checked in its growth. Its branches and leaves were covered with a kind of dust, which being shaken off as we passed along, proved very troublesome and disagreeable, almost choking us. We thought this rather singular as the rain which fell the preceding night, if it had reached this part, ought to have entirely washed away the dust, but the earth appeared as dry as the trees. Although we had not, as I have just noticed, our former difficulties to encounter, we were not less affected by feelings of a different nature. Our path had now become less than two fathoms wide, bounded by deep precipices, the bottom of which the eye could not penetrate, and whose naked sides filled us with terror, and narrowing at every step, we were threatened with being ingulphed in these unfathomable depths. We had now gained the summit of this narrow ridge, and disappointment was the only recompense we found for our troubles and difficulties, for our guide told us that we had ascended the wrong ridge, and could not get to the crater, which was the grand object we had in view when we undertook the task: nor were we even on the highest part of the mountain, for the place where we stood was over-topped by Gunung Berapi; this was entirely bare and might be three or four hundred feet above where we stood.

Gunung Berapi is another peak of this great mountain. There are in all three, to which the natives give separate names, viz. Gunung Dempo, Gunung Lumut, and Gunung Berapi. Gunung Lumut we did not see, it being on the other side of Gunung Berapi; this last, as its name points out, is the one connected with the volcano. We were still doomed to disappointment; for the brightness of the day became over-clouded and nothing could be seen from this elevated situation but the tops of surrounding mountains, and a white mist at our feet, which like a sheet, veiled from us the face of the earth. We now consulted whether we should make any further attempt to attain our object, but all agreed in the impossibility of succeeding; besides, we had not a grain of rice or other food with us, and only another scanty meal left at the hut, which we must reach before night. We therefore resolved to return without delay, and we accordingly set forward, the Imam having previously made sacrifice to the dewas of the mountain. We had too another ceremony to perform, which to Panglimo seemed of no little importance. We had promised before we set out that, on reaching the summit of Gunung Dempo, we would on the spot confer on him another title. He now reminded us of the engagement, which we performed, and instead of Panglimo he received the title of Panglimo Rajo, as a memorial of his services on this occasion. We reached our hut before dark, and were more fortunate in cooking what little food we had left than on the preceding night, but in other respects the evening seemed to threaten us with a repetition of its horrors.

Oct. 30. If anything, we passed a worse night than the one we have already described. We awoke at day-light, or rather did not sleep all night, on account of the wet and cold. Boat-cloaks and blankets were of no use; they were wet through in a few minutes, and only made our bodies more chilly. Having partaken of a half breakfast we set forward on our return, retracing our footsteps, which were easily found by the marks and cuttings of the trees which were made on our ascent. The spot where we spent the last two nights is situated at rather more than two-thirds of the height of the mountain. Being tired of the woods we resolved to make a forced march and reach the village of Sawah Batuhan before night. We stopped to take

three specimens of the *Krubut* flower*—two full blown and one bud. As I have noticed before, the spot on which these extraordinary flowers grow is rather elevated. No part of the plant is seen above ground except the flower, which decked in all the splendour of nature, bursts forth to light from a root which runs horizontally beneath the earth. The natives appeared not to be well acquainted with it, and gave us a confused account of it, from which we collected that there are two species of the *Krubut*, one of which springs up into a shrub and bears flowers rather different from those which we now saw: in the other, no part except the flower makes its appearance above ground, it being merely a creeping root without leaves and without stem. About two o'clock in the afternoon we reached the villages, thankful that we had once more extricated ourselves from such frightful wilds. On passing through one of these villages named Dwyu, we stopped to drink some cocoanut water, and perceiving a body of armed men drawn up in rank and file, in one part of the village, we asked whither they were going, and what was their object. We were answered, "braya bye sajo," meaning that they had no bad intention and were only going to take a common walk. This satisfied us; imagining that they were going to take a part in some quarrel amongst themselves, we took no farther notice. We then called to Panglimo our guide, who was earnestly engaged in conversation with these armed men; as evening was drawing near and we had still some distance to go, we called to him to hasten his steps, in order that we might not be overtaken by darkness. We were rather surprized to see Panglimo still linger behind, and thinking that he was only gossiping we walked forward without him. Having scarcely stopped since we set out in the morning, our coolies and servants were fatigued and got on more slowly than we did; and when we arrived at this village they were some distance behind us. We did not think it worth while to wait for them, because if they were overtaken by night, they could easily put up at some of the villages through which they had to pass. Mr Church, Mr Cudlipp, myself, and Panglimo Rajo our guide, made the best of our way from this village. We had not gone far before we observed these people close at our

* *Rafflesia Arnoldi*.

heels. We asked Panglimo why we were followed in this way. He then explained to us the nature of his conversation with the people in the village, saying that they had called him aside to tell him, that we should not pass, and insisted on his delivering us up into their hands. This put us upon our guard, and we proceeded without taking further notice of them, until we arrived at a clear place in the wood, where the trees had been felled, but not cleared away, for a Ladang. We here came to a parley and begged to know what was their motive for following us. Having surrounded us, each with his spear couched, one man came forward and said that he had received commands from his chiefs, Rajo Intan, to take us to his village, and insisted on our following them immediately. We answered that night was coming on and we could not go out of our road, as it was material for us to reach the village before dark, and that if Rajo Intan had any business with us he would always find us ready to listen to him at our village. During the conversation they shifted their position several times in order to encircle us completely. Perceiving this, we moved back a few yards to a large tree which lay across the road, to prevent their coming behind us: we then told them they had better return and inform Rajo Intan of what we had said, at the same time giving them to understand that our going with them was entirely out of the question. This did not please them; they said their orders were peremptory, and urged us to go. We again repeated that if Rajo Intan would come to Sawah Batuhan the next day, and explain his business, we would hear him. They alleged that Rajo Intan was ill and could not wait upon us, and that we had transgressed the laws of their country in ascending the mountain. As the last resource to get rid of such troublesome and importunate barbarians without coming to violence, we wrote a note, inviting Rajo Intan to meet us at any time he chose to appoint; adding that if he were ill we would ourselves come to his village at our leisure. This note we gave to the speaker and desired him to take it to Rajo Intan, which after some words he agreed to do. Thus we got rid of the villains. They were fifteen in number and armed with spears, swords, and krisses. We continued our journey, and reached the village of Sawah Batuhan at four o'clock in the afternoon, without meeting with

any further obstacles. Here we rejoined Mr. Osborn, who was much recovered. He had been prevented from accompanying us by severe illness. We were informed by him, that during our absence half the country had been in arms; and at one time they had gone so far as to send to Radin Mangalo to insist on our being delivered up to them, and to urge him to withdraw his protection from us. Our faithful host sent word back, that the laws of hospitality called upon him to support strangers, who had placed themselves under his protection, and who, during their stay in the country, had in every point conducted themselves in an inoffensive manner; and he gave them to understand, that if they intended to lay violent hands on us, they must come to his village, where he was resolved to defend us to the last.

On our arrival at this village, we sent for Radin Mangalo and other chiefs, to know the reason why we had received such treatment. While we were talking with them, news was brought that the servants and coolies on returning had been seized, and carried to the village of Rajo Intan. Indignant at this proceeding, we insisted on their accompanying us to the village Rajo Intan, and eight Bugis being all we had, were drawn up, in order to go with us. The village was soon put under arms, and we had this satisfaction to see that we were not entirely deserted. Armed people were seen running in all directions breathing vengeance against the authors of this insult, offered to us and to their chiefs whose guests we were. One man in particular, who had accompanied us from Pasummah Ulu Manna, as the deputy of Radin Mangalo, to which chief he was related, came to us dressed in a suit of clothes which had been given him as a present and in a paroxysm of rage and fury intreated that we would lend him a musket to go and demand immediate restitution of the men and baggage. Across his shoulder was his talisman or charm, which was to preserve him from harm in case they should resort to force. We deemed it prudent not to let him have the musket; but so determined was he to rescue the men and repel the insult or die in the attempt, that he rushed into the Balei, seized one of the muskets with a pouch, and ran off as fast as he could to the village where the people were held captive. We found afterwards that he had, in the heat of his zeal, put two cartridges and two bullets into the

musket, in order, as he said, that it should make more destruction, should he have occasion to use it. I was now ready to go personally with the Bugis to the village, but Radin Mangalo with other chiefs begged that I would lay aside my intention, as my presence might have a bad effect and lead to serious consequences. His people he said had gone, and he pledged his word that the men and things should be restored immediately. I agreed to remain until word should be brought of the intention of the people, and desired, if matters should be carried to extremities, to be informed immediately. I now found that I had been too hasty and precipitate in the business. Three of the neighbouring villages were already in arms, and had gone to the offending village: instead of exciting, I found it necessary to restrain, as much as I could, their impetuosity. About seven o'clock Radin Mangalo, who had himself been to settle the matter, returned, bringing with him the six men. He promised that the things, which had been already divided among the plunderers, should be restored the next day, and begged we would not think more of the business. The servants and coolies who had been seized, told us that they had been stopped by the same men, who had molested us about an hour before, and in the same place. Like savages, they rushed on them with their naked spears and drawn swords, threatening to murder every one of them, if they made any resistance; they tore off their clothes from their backs, and led them in this naked state to the village of Rajo Intan. They told our people that the seeing us armed, and the dread they had of an European, alone prevented their serving their masters in the same way. Here the matter rested for the night.

Oct. 31. The chiefs were busied the whole day in discussing the subject of the seizure of our men and baggage without bringing it to a conclusion. The depredators appeared to wish to keep what booty they had got—consisting of silver spoons, knives and forks, plates, cooking utensils, clothes, &c. The chiefs manifested an inclination, when this affair should be settled, to proceed against us for transgressing the law of the land, which admits of no strangers going to the sacred mountain. If this was their intention it was no doubt with the hope of gaining money from us, but in this they would have been much mistaken, as we had

scarcely enough for our own use: In order to impress our minds with a high idea of the sacredness of Gunong Dempo, they told us that some years back three men endeavoured to ascend; but as a judgment for their rashness, inflicted by the spirits which inhabit that place, they never returned. That the attempt was made; and that not one of them was afterwards heard of, is I am inclined to think true: we learnt from another quarter, that these three men were purposely poisoned. The jealousy of the people led to this diabolical act: before they set off, some one had contrived to mix poison with the boiled rice which they took with them, in consequence of which they died in the woods. Mr. Church was taken ill on this day with symptoms of fever; Mr Cudlipp also complained. The poor Imam, who had been our guide to the mountain, suffered for his pains; for on returning to the village, he received a sound drubbing from his neighbours. Panglimo was in great terror and did not go two yards from us the whole of the day: he said the people wanted to kill him. I do not think he eat any thing for two days after his return.

Nov. 1. Mr. Church was the whole day in a very high and continued fever; and in the evening delirium ensued. Mr Cudlipp was also laid up with a strong fever, and several of the men who went with us to the mountain were in the same state. Mr Osborn had not yet got over his illness, so that I was the only one able to do any thing.

Nov. 2. The men who were despatched a few days before to Lintang and Kasambye, returned to-day without being able to reach either of those places. They had reached some of the frontier villages, when the people refused to go with them any farther. They were afraid to proceed alone, being unacquainted with the road, and fearing the ranjows with which every pass was thickly planted. The symptoms of Mr Church's malady now increased to an alarming degree. He still remained in a state of delirium and was insensible to every object around him, and so weak as not to be able to support himself. The chiefs expressed much alarm on his account, and did not fail to tell me that it was a judgment inflicted on him by the dewas for molesting them in their homes. They advised with a serious countenance that a goat should be

sacrificed to appease the offended deities, and gave us to understand that unless this necessary duty was performed, it would be vain to expect the recovery of Mr Church. I felt myself in rather an unpleasant situation. Mr Church on the point of death—every one else around me ill—no medicines—in the heart of a strange and barbarous country—the inhabitants not to be depended on—and an armed body of these savages actually gone into the woods to intercept and plunder the Bugis on their return from Manna;—these were reflections not calculated to make my slumbers very sound.

The chiefs assembled and consulted every day about the seizure, and could not satisfactorily terminate the business. We sent a message to them, saying if the things were all returned, we were willing to pardon the offenders, as they appeared to be sensible of the baseness of their conduct. Even had we been differently inclined it was vain to expect that the delinquents would receive punishment proportioned to their crime.

Nov. 4. Mr Church was no better, and this was the third day he had not spoken a word. Mr Cudlipp was recovering. Mr Osborn continued to mend. Circumstanced as we were, it was impossible for me to quit the village. Poor Panglimo had not yet got over his fright; he still continued to keep close to our side, and for fear of the people, slept behind us. He said the chiefs had signified to him that they intended to fine him heavily and us too; he therefore begged that he might leave us, and go to his village at Pasummah Ulu Manna, where he would join us again if we returned by that route. We readily complied with his request, thinking he might occasion us some trouble if he remained. Panglimo, afraid to shew his face, left us early this morning. The lost articles were all at last returned, with the exception of one or two trifles. We received back the things and forgave the offence.

Nov. 5. We were this day informed officially that the chiefs intended to take into consideration the circumstance of our having been to the mountain without their permission. We replied that they were at liberty to do as they thought fit in their own country, but we thought such a discussion would be useless, as they must acknowledge that we had been guilty of no offence towards

them ; if their gods had been insulted by what we had done, they could surely avenge their own cause ; and as they said Mr Church and others were suffering for their imputed crime, they had better let the matter rest. Even supposing we had been as guilty as they wished to make us, they could not for a moment suppose that we should submit ourselves to be punished by them ; and as we treated with them as vakeels from the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor, they could at all times carry their complaint before him, from whom they would receive every redress the grievance merited. This answer was delivered to them, but they still continued to deliberate on the subject, and appeared determined, if in their power, to satisfy their avaricious desire by making us pay a fine.

Nov. 6. Mr Church passed a better day. The people were very anxious that he should appease the gods by sacrifice : appearing very eager on this head, as if some evil would befall them if not performed, in order to pacify them, I purchased a goat which I gave into their hands, and desired they would do what they chose with it. They sacrificed it at the temple and the inhabitants of the village got a good meal in consequence.

[As the above the extracts from my journal will afford a pretty good idea of the sort of people we were among and the difficulties we had to encounter, I shall not detain the reader with the details of our journey back to Manna, but attempt a general sketch of the country and inhabitants which we visited ; noting only by the way that on our arrival at Tanjong Alam (the end of the world), many enquiries were made after *Tuan Adam*. Having no acquaintance with Adam, we were surprized at the entreaty and earnestness with which the enquiry was made, and it was some time before we found that Tuan Adam was no other personage than *Madam Besar*, or Lady Raffles, the name by which she is known to this people. Madam it appears was metamorphosed by them into Adam, a very pardonable mistake considering that they look upon Adam as some very extraordinary person, and Lady Raffles as no less so in having overcome such difficulties and being the first fair lady who visited their country.]

The country of Pasumma Lebar is situated in an extensive and fertile valley. On quitting the coast, you travel in a north-

easterly direction, over three ranges of high mountains : journeying three days in this direction, you reach Pasummah Ulu Manna, and continuing nearly the same course for three days more, you arrive in the heart of the country of Pasummah Lebar. Beyond this again there is another range of hills, which runs parallel to the western ranges, forming thereby a plain or valley, which probably extends through the whole centre of the island, N. E. and S. W. The climate here in temperature differs but little from that of the Pasisir. In the day time it is very hot ; near the mountains it is proportionally colder, and at Gunung Agung, which is the first village of Pasummah Lebar after quitting Pasummah Ulu Manna and situated near to Gunung Dempo, it is very cold. We came at an unfortunate season to judge of the climate, the rains having set in. Notwithstanding several of our people were ill, arising chiefly from their own imprudence and necessary exposure in travelling through all sorts of weather, I think the climate, in point of healthiness, superior to that of the coast. Swamps are not so numerous, and the air is dryer and not subject to such sudden changes from heat to cold and from dry to wet as we experience on the coast. The sickness of our party could by no means be attributed to any thing prejudicial to health in the climate itself. Mr Osborn's was a liver complaint, of which he had been suffering for years past ; Mr Church and Mr Cudlipp owed their illness, partly to their own imprudence in sleeping in the wet, and partly to the bad weather we were exposed to in our journey to the mountain.

The Selangis is the chief river that runs through the country ; it has its source in Gunung Dempo, whence it flows in a north easterly direction for some distance, and then falls into the Palembang river near Lamatang. The chief mountains in this neighbourhood, in the western range, are Gunung Dempo, Gunung Lumut, and Gunung Berapi, which form one great mountain, by far the highest in this part, being conspicuous over all the rest, and visible from Fort Marlborough, bearing from Manna N N. E. and from Padang Guchei North. With regard to the height of this mountain, it would be but mere conjecture if I were to estimate it at twelve or thirteen thousand feet above the level of the sea ; but the eye is easily deceived, and not having

been accustomed to judge of heights, I may be far from correct. We may perhaps judge something from the time we were ascending. We commenced about ten o'clock on the 27th of October; about half past four we stopped for the night; at seven the next day we set forward again, and travelled till five o'clock; the following morning we recommenced at seven and reached as far as we were able to go about half past one o'clock, making altogether twenty-four hours. Allowances must be made for the badness of the roads and the many impediments we met with in the last third part of our journey. Although we were so long in ascending, we were not more than ten hours in descending, having started at six from our hut, which we guessed to be two-thirds of the height of the mountain, we reached the foot at about one o'clock or past. The highest peak (Jambul Raniul) of the ranges which we passed over between the coast and Pasumamah Ulu Manna, did not occupy more than three or four hours, or scarcely so long. The temperature of the atmosphere on the top of this mountain was very low; although we discovered neither snow nor ice, yet from what some of the natives told us, we were led to think that both have been seen there. They related a story of three persons who were frozen to death, "*mati ha krasan*," stiffened or hardened to death. I cannot state the precise degree of temperature for want of a thermometer, though I should think Fahrenheit's would have been as low as 35° before sun rise. We were informed by some of the natives, that within their memory the volcano, which now appears to be extinct, had been known to emit flames, covering the trees and lands of the adjacent country with white ashes. This emission was accompanied with a loud noise, that filled the whole country with alarm. The singular appearance of the trees near to the top of the mountain, mentioned in another place, gives some colour to this report, hence we may probably account for large trees being deprived of every branch, and the outer part of their trunks, (the whole being too solid a substance to be entirely consumed) burnt black as a cinder. But from the best information we could collect on the subject, it appears highly probable that the thick smoke seen to issue from the side of the mountain, is an aqueous vapour arising from a hot spring, situated in the crater of the volcano. The water of this spring has a constant

motion, sometimes greater and sometimes less, alternately rising and sinking, and when this agitation is greatest, it is attended with the emission of a dark volume of smoke; this is immediately preceded by a loud noise resembling thunder, only of shorter duration. I have myself observed the smoke issuing forth at intervals of a few minutes, as if repeated explosions had taken place within the crater.—Dempo is the only mountain in this part that is honoured with the epithet of Gunung, all the rest being called Bukit or Hill. The next highest mountain in this neighbourhood is called Bukit Patah; in height or grandeur this is not to be compared with the last. Bukit Patah is at the back of Padang Guchie, whence it is visible; it divides those districts from Pasumamah Lebar; from the village of Sawah Batuhan it bears S. by E. 3 Bukit Besar at the back of Kinal bears S. E. by S.; this is also visible from the coast about Kinal. The Padang Guchie and Kinal rivers have their sources in these two mountains respectively.

We made inquiry respecting the large Lake said to be situated somewhere in these parts, but could not learn that one existed. Perhaps the jealousy of the people might take care to conceal the knowledge of it from us.

To the N. W. of Sawah Batuhan lies the country of Pasumamah Lambah, about a day and a half, or two day's journey. Lintang or the Ampat Lawang country, divided into Lintang kanan and Lintang kidow by the river which flows through it, lies N. W. by W.; to the north is Kikim; N. E. Lamatang and Palembang. The former is only one day's journey thence. The latter we were informed could be reached in eight or ten days, though it requires a much longer period to return. In going to Palembang from this country, you pass through Lamatang, and at Muaro Milang take water, and are conveyed in boats or rakits to Palembang. Gumei Ulu is situated N. N. E. and Mulah Pasumamah due E. bordering on this country E. by S. Pagar Gunung and Ulu Semando S. E. by S. Pasumamah Ulu Manna W. by S. with Manna proper S. W. Kawur S. E. by S. and Lampung S. E. The face of the country is beautifully diversified by hill and dale and has much the same undulating appearance as on the coast. The ravines in general are very deep and prove a great impediment in moving from place to place. The soil has a fine

black loamy appearance, and could with very little labor, produce almost every thing that grows within the tropics, while from the variety of climates which are to be found here, many foreign productions, I make no doubt, might be brought to perfection. At present rice, tobacco, and the plant called kalawi, are almost the only articles of cultivation. The Sawah grounds are very extensive. The price of rice just after harvest is fifty bamboos coast measure, or one hundred kulah Ulu, for the Spanish dollar, and not unfrequently cheaper than this. I believe none is grown for exportation. The tobacco is considered inferior to that of Lintang, but the pulas superior. The pulas, or twine, is made the medium of exchange in many of their bartering transactions, and sells in their country at the rate of ten or twelve tucals to the dollar. It is usually exchanged with the Palembang or Lamatang people for their salt, for which article of general consumption they are entirely dependent on Palembang. The pulas is also disposed of to the people of the coast, with whom it is in great requisition, and is principally used by them in the manufacture of their fishing nets, for which purpose it seems to be well adapted, as it receives little or no injury from the water. Might not this be made an useful and valuable article of commerce? Might it not in time rival the hemp? But how far it is superior to the latter, or whether indeed it is not inferior to that article, I am not able to judge. Indigo is cultivated in small quantities for the purpose of dying their cotton. Cassia was also brought to us;—they demanded an exorbitant price for it. If properly sought after and taken care of, I make no doubt large supplies of it might be obtained. The people took care to impress on our minds that there were two articles which their country would not produce, the kapuk and pepper. For the former article they are indebted to the Pasisir, the latter is of no use to them and I can easily account for their saying the pepper plant will not grow. They knew this was the only article cultivated at the Pasisir, and they were fearful, should their soil and climate be thought adapted to the growth of it, that the Company might be led to enforce its cultivation: but why the former article should not thrive here, unless the sea air be necessary to it, I cannot conceive. One would imagine that self-interest would induce them to turn their thoughts to the cultivation

of the kapuk, as they greatly stand in need of it for the manufacture of their coarser wearing apparel; but as they told me they had this on the faith of their ancestors (nenek poyang), I doubt whether they have made the trial in latter days, and as they informed me both the kapuk and the pepper plants were invariably destroyed by tigers before they came to perfection, I was led to consider some superstitious prejudice might prevail, especially with regard to the growth of the kapuk. But would not necessity and self-interest be superior to such idle prejudices? The chief of this latter article is supplied to them by the Padang Guchie and Kadurang people, though frequently the natives themselves remove to the latter place and cultivate it, and as soon as they have gathered the cotton, return with it to their country. As it requires but a few months from the first planting of the kapuk to the time of the gathering of the fruit, this can be done without much inconvenience. The cocoanut tree does not thrive well here, though it is more productive than at Pasumamah Ulu Manna, where the climate is certainly much colder. Cocoanut oil is not to be procured, instead of which they burn damar, which they procure from the woods west of Pasumamah Ulu Manna. The betel trees are numerous and seem to flourish. Fruit of every description, except plantains, is scarce: we saw scarcely any. The orange tree is not to be found in the country.

I have noticed before that these people are dependent on Palembang for their salt and finer clothing, and since they procure their cotton from the Pasisir, they are dependent on their western neighbours for their coarser clothes also. Nature then has supplied these people abundantly with food, but has left them destitute of clothing to cover their bodies, nevertheless they do not entirely obey the dictates of nature in this respect, for the higher classes of them are remarkable for the neatness and cleanliness of their dress. The men, when at home and employed in their Ladangs, usually wear a coarse white cloth reaching from the waist to the knee, sometimes with a jacket, and a cloth for the head of the same sort, all of their own manufacture. The women are all habited with clothes of their own weaving, but the young unmarried women, who find it necessary to be a little finer when they appear at Bimbangs, in order to attract the attention of the

young men, sometimes wear a silk scarf of Palembang manufacture, though more frequently it is the work of their own hands. They breed the worms in order to supply themselves with silk for this purpose.

At this time the people were suffering greatly from the want of salt, a prohibition on the importation of this article having been laid by the Dutch Government since its return to Palembang, and heavy duties imposed on all boats and merchandize coming into the interior of that place. This has created much inconvenience to the inhabitants, who express a desire to be supplied with salt from Manna. Although they have not advantage of water carriage in their communication with the western shore, they would gladly resort thither to supply their wants, if any thing certain could be secured to them. They prefer an intercourse with the English to one with the Dutch, towards whom they express a great aversion. From a rough estimate made by the assistance of the chiefs, I calculated that fifty or sixty koyans of salt would be annually consumed by them. They object to going to Bencoolen on account of the great distance. If regular and well supplied markets, free from the spirit of monopoly, were established at stated periods throughout the interior of Manna, I make no doubt the whole population of this part of the interior would resort thither for the purpose of supplying themselves with many of the necessaries and even luxuries of life. Salt, kapuk, the finer sort of Malay clothing, piece goods, &c. would be always in demand. These would be exchanged for tobacco, pulas, rice, and other articles. But in order to prevent disputes between the people of the interior and those of the coast, great vigilance and precaution would be necessary on the part of the native chiefs and magistrates, aided by the authority of the company's representative in that part; and regulations might be drawn up by government to secure this intercourse.

The people of Pasumma Lebar have traditionary reports of their descent from the Javanese. They relate that in the time of the prosperity of the kingdom of Majipait, two persons, a brother and sister, with several followers, whose names and title they told me, but which I have now forgotten, left that kingdom and landing on the eastern shores of this island, the female settled at

Palembang, where in a short time she became a powerful princess ; but the brother, travelling more inland from that place, settled himself in the fertile valley of Pasummah. In this way the country was first possessed and peopled, and hence the origin of the present race, which in many respects I conceive bears considerable analogy to the people of Java. How far they have deviated from the manners and customs of their ancestors, or pretended ancestors, I cannot form any judgment, but it is probable that a considerable, if not almost a total change, took place suitable to their different situations and conditions. On this fraternal connection with Palembang they found the custom which till lately prevailed, and even now nominally exists, of going to do homage to the princess of that place, who being richer and more powerful claimed this mark of distinction from her poorer relations : and as it is reasonable to suppose that the latter must often have stood in need of the assistance of the former, self-interest as well as the ties of blood taught them the advantage of conciliating her good will by a ceremony so natural. The chiefs always assert their entire independence of the Sultan of Palembang, and call their annual visit to that place, merely a compliment paid by a poor brother to a powerful and opulent sister. And it is a certain fact that the people of Pasummah Lebar, never were, like their surrounding neighbours, tributary to the princes of Palembang, nor has this mark of subjection ever been demanded or claimed on the part of the Sultans, though an alliance of friendship has always subsisted between them. This is the account given by the chiefs themselves, who no doubt would make the best of their own story, but I see no reason to disbelieve it entirely. They produced an ancient kriss which they assured us was the manufacture of Majipait ; it is looked upon as a sacred relic and much venerated by them. The famous spear, of which I have before spoken, is said also to have come from that kingdom, and has been in the country ever since it was first inhabited. Besides these, they have other marks of Javan extraction ; many of their letters, and the names of their villages, seemed to be derived from the Javanese. They also told us they could understand a few words of the Javanese language : probably their own may contain a portion of Javan words. In a list of the names of the

deities or demi-gods and souls of their ancestors, said to reside on Gunung Dempo, some of them appear to bear a near resemblance of Javanese titles. I fear this list is lost ; it contained about twenty names.

At present the country is inhabited by separate tribes, the principal of which are Sumbei Besar, Sumbei Ulu Lura, Mungkuanum, and Tanjung Raya. The Ana Panjalang tribe is the most ancient, but now the least numerous and of little importance, though its antiquity renders it independent of the four Pasīrahs ; it is termed *mordaka*, or free. It formerly nominated the Pasīrahs to the other tribes, and was often appealed to in disputes between tribe and tribe. Each tribe has its Pasīrah who presides over it, and the four collectively are the sovereigns of the country, and as such the sole proprietors of the soil. Their subject or ana buas may settle themselves on, and cultivate any part of it free of rent in money or kind ; but they can never obtain any real property therein, it always being resumable at the will of, or inalienable from the sovereigns. For this, the subject is expected to perform certain services for his chief, such as building his house, or repairing it when required, or working in his Ladang for a certain number of days at the sowing or reaping of the padi crops. This term never exceeds three or four days, and at all times he must follow his chief to war when called upon. Each Pasīrah is independent, as far as regards his own particular tribe ; but if one tribe have a cause against another, and it cannot be settled satisfactorily between themselves, it is usual to call a meeting of the other Pasīrahs with their inferior chiefs, when the affair is discussed and settled by the assembly, not in an arbitrary manner, but according to the established custom of the land. There is no stated time or place for these meetings ; they assemble whenever business calls them, and where most convenient ; sometimes at the village of a Pasīrah, sometimes at a Bimbang where they may chance to be met together ; the Balei or a private house is sometimes the place of their deliberation, and it is not unusual to see a number of persons squatting down in the middle of a village, under the shade of a tree, or around a fire, discussing a subject of general concern. All order and decorum is frequently banished from these assemblies ; they debate in a loud and vociferous man-

ner and sometimes give vent to their feelings without restraint, and the party that feels himself aggrieved by the decision of the assembly, frequently sets the authority at defiance by an appeal to his arms. As the chiefs have no means of enforcing obedience to their decrees by any coercive power placed in their hands by the community itself, nor by an armed force always at their command, the heads of several tribes have found it convenient for the support of their own authority, to enter into a sort of confederacy among themselves so that if one tribe should remain obstinately bent on opposing the operation of the sentence decreed by the assembly, the remaining three tribes immediately unite and by force of arms compel the resisting party to yield obedience to the voice of the country. If this opposition should be made by an individual unsupported by the tribe, save his village, the whole four unite and proceeding thither demand an immediate compliance; if this be withheld they commence hostile operations against the inhabitants, and should they still persist in opposing the sentence, the village is burnt to the ground. This combination for their mutual support is termed in the language of the country *pelurakan*: but things are rarely carried to this extreme. The mode of commencing a law suit against a party for debt or murder is as follows. If a debt be due by an inhabitant of a different village from that of the creditor, and the latter, after making his demand, be unable to procure payment, he watches an opportunity of seizing the debtor himself, or more frequently one of his relations, whom he conveys to his own village, and detains a captive in his house, as an earnest for the payment of the money due. As soon as this seizure is known by the other party the whole of the village assemble in arms, and in this way proceed to that where the captive is detained, who are already prepared to repel any hostile attack that may be made by the party of the debtor. It seldom happens that blood is spilt in these war-like and tumultuous assemblies, the dispute being generally adjusted by the chiefs and elders of the contending villages on the spot, or else they agree to refer it to the Pasirahs. In cases of murder the mode of procedure is the same, but this not unfrequently terminates in blood; and after all, perhaps, the matter is not settled and they part implacable enemies. A feud thus raised is handed down from father

to son for two or three generations, and the whole *dusun* on each side are bound to support the cause. Thus the two villages remain in a state of warfare, and reprisals are made from time to time. Feuds of this kind are very numerous. Radin Lawangan, one of the Pasirahs, being at variance with another village, never moved out without a strong body of armed followers. I have seen him attended by fifteen or twenty spearsmen, and five or six musketeers. Another Pangeran, who was to accompany us from Pasumma Ulu Manna to Gunung Agung, was obliged to follow us by night, because we had to pass close by a village with which he had a feud, or *Gawei*, as he termed it. In cases where murder is settled by the chiefs, the *Bunghun* or compensation for murder is paid by the aggressor. If in the course of the feud several have been killed and wounded on both sides, an account is taken and the *Bunghun* for murder and the *tapping* for wounding, are paid by each party. If an even number have been killed and wounded on both sides, the matter is settled by each party's slaying a buffalo and giving one hundred bamboos of rice. This is called the *Baso Lurah*; but if a greater number have fallen on one side than on the other, the balance is paid to the party that has sustained the greatest loss, and the *Baso Lurah* as before. This is also the mode adopted on the coast, and in every other respect the laws of the one country are similar to those of the other. In cases of theft to a small amount, the *kalimowit*, or five times the value of the property stolen, is paid by the person convicted; but if the theft be to a large amount, the *lipat*, or double the value with a fine to the chiefs, is paid as at the *Pasisir*. The regulations regarding marriage differ in nothing from those established among the inhabitants of the coast. *Kulo* or *jujur*, and *ambil anna*, are the only modes of marriage practised among them. Divorces are procured in the same way as on the coast. Each village is governed by its chief, whether under title of Pangeran or Dupati. He settles all matters of minor importance; receives and provides for strangers, &c. It may be remarked that in this country the title of Pangeran is very common, almost every petty chief or head of village assumes it.

It is difficult to give a correct estimate of the population of this country; the villages are numerous, but no dependence can be

placed in the accounts furnished by the natives, it being their object to exaggerate as much as possible, and they frequently endeavoured to impress on our minds that they were able to defend themselves against a large body of regular troops. Some stated the number of villages under the authority of the four Pasirahs to be eight hundred, others five hundred, but this I believe is much above the truth. In comparing the several accounts given to us by the natives, I think we may venture to fix the number at three hundred, without deviating widely from the truth. From the observations we made in passing through about thirty villages, the average number of houses in each may be calculated at forty-five; some have as many as a hundred, and Karang Dallo contains from fifteen to sixteen hundred houses. On a moderate calculation eight persons may be said to inhabit each house. If this estimate be correct, the whole population of Pasummah Lebar will be upwards of one hundred thousand, making one hundred and twenty-five to a square mile.

In their persons the inhabitants of Pasummah Lebar, generally speaking, are not so tall and robust as those of Pasummah Ulu Manna. This may be attributed to the difference of the climate; and the mountainous situation of the latter is more adapted to form a strong and robust frame of body, than the level plains and easy slopes of the former. Their deportment is sedate and grave, and their countenance seldom enlightened with a smile. The higher class are respectful and courteous in their manners, though from the lower order we have met with behaviour to be expected only from savages. Their virtues are perhaps of a higher order than what we meet with on the coast. Their hospitality to strangers is unbounded, and a violation of its law, in their estimation, would be little less than a crime of the greatest magnitude. These lines are almost as applicable to them as to the Scottish Highlanders:

And stranger is a holy name,
Guidance and rest and food and fire,
In vain he never must require.

They are open and generous, and appear to be not entirely destitute of that delicacy of feeling usually termed honor. Insult

would be instantly repelled, and injury revenged, not by the secret dagger concealed under the screen of darkness, but publicly and in the face of the day. They are chaste and temperate, of a bold and daring disposition, but passionate and hasty. With a strong attachment to their ancient customs, they look upon all innovation as a departure from truth and justice: they are extremely independent and jealous of any infringement of their ancient liberties. They are industrious and less infected with the vice of gambling than the Company's subjects, or the people of Pasummah Ulu Manna. Opium smoking is unknown among them; they look upon that drug as poison. On the other hand they have little regard for truth, and think but lightly of the violation of an oath. They have no regard to honesty or fairness of dealing in their transactions, but make a merit of cheating. They are more warlike than the inhabitants of the coast and are extremely dexterous in the use of their weapons. They look on a Pasirir man with contempt, and speak of him proverbially. They cannot bear to hear the term *coolly* applied to them, and absolutely refused to assist us in carrying our baggage under that name.

They are very temperate in their diet, and seldom eat flesh of any kind. The buffalo, not being a native of their plains, is slain only on occasions of importance. Goat's flesh, although more plentiful, and fowls, which are abundant, are seldom eaten, except in their offerings to the gods. Swine's flesh is not eaten; but besides this they have few prejudices with regard to food. They are by no means delicate this way, and the entrails of the fowls killed for our dinner were eagerly picked up, and after undergoing some preparations, greedily devoured. For this purpose they attended the cook daily in his culinary operations to carry off every thing he threw away. They do not even scruple to eat the carcase of an animal found dead, although they know not how it came by its death: thus, the carcase of the unfortunate horse that died in one of the villages, was almost wholly devoured by them, and some declared they had made a hearty meal from it. As the animal was tolerably fat when it died, I have no doubt that its flesh was more savoury than the meat generally killed by the Fort Marlborough Butchers. The only inebriating drink made use of by them, is a fermented liquor prepared from rice and termed

bram: this is drunk only at festivals. They have the same aversion to milk, and every preparation from it, as the Javanese and other eastern people. A chief, being asked whether he would take milk with his tea, replied that he was not an infant.

The villages are in general neat and clean, the houses well built, and not ill adapted for convenience. They are tolerably commodious and airy; many of them are constructed of plank, particularly those of the chiefs, and are ornamented with carved work.

Their language is not so much peculiar to themselves as the manner of pronouncing it; except in this it differs little from that spoken in the interior of Manna. They have some words not to be found in the languages of the neighbouring countries; in other respects it is the same as that termed *bhaso Serawi*, which is spoken by the people on the coast from Sillabar to Kawur, where another language and different usages are found to commence, bearing a near resemblance to those of Lampung. The dialect of Serawi is also called Sambilan Lura, and includes the rivers of Sillabar, Angalum, Salumah, Tallo, Alas, Pino, Manna, Benعانon, and Padang Guchie, throughout which the same language and customs prevail. The last may be considered almost distinct from the Malayan. About one fifth of it may consist of Malayan words, but the remaining four bear no affinity to that language. A native Malay previously unacquainted with it, would not understand a conversation carried on between two persons in the *bhasa Serawi*, but from the frequent intercourse between the people of the districts already mentioned, and the Malays, the language of the latter is mutually understood. But to return to the Pasummahs, it is difficult even for a Serawi man to understand clearly what they say; this arises chiefly from the peculiar utterance given by them to their words, their sounds being much more guttural. All the words which by the natives of the coast are made to terminate in a simple *o*, by these people have a sound almost like *eu* or *euh*, as in the last syllable of *dieu*, but pronounced much longer and more forcibly; e. g. the Malay word *kuda* or, as pronounced by the natives of this island *kudo*, is by the Pasummahs called *kudeuh*, and *kata* or *kato*, *kateuh*, *maro*, or *marah*, *mareuh*. These people are not ignorant of writing. They use the characters which Mr. Marsden calls *Rejang*, but which are

not peculiar to those people. The mode of writing is on pieces of split bamboo, on which they cut or scratch the letters with the point of a knife or *sewar*. They seldom use it but to send a message to a distant person, or to acquaint him with any piece of news: thus for instance, a despairing swain inscribes his love verses (pantuns), and conveys them to his mistress. They have no written memorials of past transactions or events, nothing in the form of history, popular tales, or writings of any other kind, with the exception of a few forms of prayer used in their religious ceremonies.

It has been doubted whether the native Sumatran has any religion: but would not a people without a religion of some kind, be as great a phenomenon in the moral, as the heavens without sun or stars, in the natural world? View human nature in its most degraded state: even the uncouth Hottentot and the isolated savage of America, who roam their woods and forests in search of a precarious subsistence, carry into those desert and gloomy regions some idea of a Supreme Being and a future state. We may rest assured then that the more civilized inhabitants of this island are not without their religious tenets:—what the precise nature of them is, it is difficult to say. In travelling through their villages, the first thing that strikes the eye of a stranger is the temple, a small square building, erected always in the centre of it. This proves, not only that they have a religion, but that they possess a considerable degree of attachment to it. This religion is undoubtedly Pagan with a slight admixture of Muhammedanism, which seems, at some time or other, to have made some progress among them. Circumcision is universally practised, and they manifest the same prejudice to swine's flesh that the professors of the Muhammedan religion do: but it is chiefly, nay almost entirely, in these particulars that the ceremonies and institutions of the one bear any resemblance to those of the other. It is rather remarkable that one tribe, called *Anak Semundo*, more strictly adheres to the tenets of the religion of Muhammed. They read the koran, pray at the stated periods of the day, practise charity, which according to the Muhommedans consists entirely in giving alms, keep the puaso or feast of Ramazan, with other observances of that religion. The head of this tribe is called Nabi Panghulu.

Both the *jujur* and *ambil anak* marriages are very rare among them, the *Semundo mode* being almost exclusively adopted. But to return, although the greater part of the inhabitants of this country, as I have already said, are pagans, they nevertheless worship neither idols nor external objects, neither have they any order of priesthood. They have no idea of one eternal Supreme Being, who made all things; although they frequently make use of the expression *Allah Taallah*—the term by which the Arabians express that idea, and, borrowing from the latter, which the Malays use to express the same idea: but the more ignorant *Pasumma* affixes no such meaning to it. Ask him what he means by it, and he replies it is one of the *dewas*. In the mythology of these people, *Dewas* are the highest order of beings, whom they regard with superstitious reverence. They are looked upon as benignant spirits, whose influence is beneficial to the human race. These divinities listen to the prayers, and are pleased with the sacrifices offered to them by mortals. They know all that passes on earth; they have a general superintendence over mankind and all mundane affairs; the destinies of men are in their hands, and all events are at their disposal. To these benignant beings man is indebted for the principle of life, and this debt is continually increasing through every instant of his existence, for the preservation and maintenance of that principle within him. There appear to be orders and gradations of these beings—they are not all of the same importance to man. They have their abodes on the earth, and choose different parts of its surface for their habitations; some resort to the deepest and most gloomy woods and forests; some to hills and mountains; some preside over the rushing torrent, while others, delighted with the gentle murmurs of the limpid stream, retire to its shady banks. Particular trees are devoted to these deities: thus the sacred *bringin* tree or the venerable *banyan*, spreads forth its shades in a peculiar manner, in order to shelter the sacred habitation of a *dewa*; even the *kalapo gading* (a variety of the cocoanut tree) in the opinion of these superstitious people, under the benignant influence of a holy *dewa* who resides in its branches, produces a more excellent sort of fruit.

But besides these there is another order of beings, whose

influence is far less benignant. They are called Jins, or evil spirits, and are considered to be the authors of evil. All the misfortunes and calamities attendant on human life, proceed from them. They likewise have their residence on different parts of the earth; and should a man by accident approach the unhallowed spot, he usually feels the anger of these resentful spirits.

There is still another class of beings, who, in regard to the qualities and attributes ascribed to them, appear to possess a middle rank between the dewas and the jins, approaching much nearer to the nature of the former. They are termed *orang alus*, that, is fine, impalpable, or invisible men. I do not know the precise office or nature of this fairy tribe. They seem to be a mixture of material and immaterial beings, partaking of the nature of men and spirits. I have seen a man who, it was said, was wedded to one of these *orang alus*. I concluded his children partook of the nature of their mother, for although he had a large family, no body had ever seen one. The name of the man was Dupati Rajo Wani; in appearance he much resembled a wizard. Such are the ridiculous ideas of this people! But are they more gross than those entertained by the Greeks and Romans with regard to their deities?

The manes of their departed ancestors are held in the highest veneration, and are esteemed not inferior to the gods themselves. They suppose them to take concern in the welfare of their posterity, over whom they are always watchful. They have a strong regard and attachment to the spot where their fore-fathers were interred, and if Alexander the Great had penetrated into this quarter of the globe, and attempted to molest the natives in their woods and forests, they would have sent him the same reply that the ancient Scythians did. They have a strong persuasion in the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, though, I believe, it is only particular animals that are allotted to the reception of the souls of the dead: nor need these, in temper and disposition, bear any resemblance to those of the persons while living, whose souls are transfused into them. The Tiger is the animal they look upon as most generally animated by a human soul. This is the reason why they regard that ferocious beast almost as sacred, and treat it with so much undeserved mildness and respect. Even when its

THE SULTAN OF JOHORE.

As soon as it became known in Batavia that a settlement had been really formed at Singapore, the Dutch government sent the most bitter complaints against the officers concerned, whom they accused of irregularities and improprieties, which they professed themselves assured the superior British authorities would not countenance. These charges caused a more minute investigation to be made into the actual position of affairs in the empire of Johore, and after much discussion, the truth as regards the later affairs of that country became known.

The empire of Johore was founded on the ruins of the former empire of Malacca, when that place was taken by the Portuguese. After the Dutch had possessed themselves of the territory and power, before held by the Portuguese, the ruin of Johore was also consummated. The usual consequence which invariably arose from the neighbourhood of a European power to a Malay government appeared, and it was not long ere Johore, which at first held the Dutch in check at Malacca, ceased to be able to preserve its own integrity. The great officers of state gradually withdrew themselves, and in the districts formerly governed by them as dependencies, asserted a sovereignty which their master was no longer able to dispute. At the commencement of this century, the Sultan of Johore, the scion of a long race of kings, found himself with a great title, but with no real authority. Sultan Mahomed Shah, the last of the recognised kings, was a man of more than ordinary ability, and by the exercise of his talent in mercantile pursuits, had acquired considerable influence. This prince died in the year 1809, and left two sons, both of whom being by mothers of ignoble birth, were disqualified for the succession.

Previous to his death, however, the Sultan had pointed out Houssain, the elder of these sons, as his successor on the throne; and had conferred several marks of distinction on him with that view; while the younger son being of a more pacific and unenterprising disposition, was recommended to devote himself to a religious life. Another account, however, adds that the late

Sultan expressly left the island of Lingga to Abdulrahman, and all the rest of the territory to Houssain. There is every reason to believe that, had the king lived a sufficient time to carry out his views, he would, in the low state at which the Malayan affairs had arrived, have been enabled to accomplish his object in securing the succession to his son Houssain. As a step in this direction he obtained for him, in marriage, a daughter of the Bandahara at Pahang. Houssain was sent to Pahang to fulfil the contract, the king accompanied him a portion of the way, and after returning to Lingga died, not without suspicion of poison. One custom peculiar to Malayan royalty, consists in the necessity of having a new king installed before a deceased king can be buried; advantage was taken of this circumstance to set up the younger son, in opposition to the claims of his absent brother. The prevalence of the north-east monsoon at the time stopped the navigation on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, and Houssain at Pahang could neither receive intelligence of his father's death, nor could he have come down to Lingga in time to assert his rights.

Tuanku Abdulrahman was offered the throne by Tuanku Jaffar, the Rajah Moodah of Rhio, who had seen the weak and complying disposition of that prince, and conceived the design of reigning in his name. Tuanku Abdulrahman declined to accept the throne thus proffered, on the ground that his father, the deceased monarch, had pointed out his elder brother, Houssain, as the successor, and his feelings and religious bent precluded him from attempting to make any alteration. He was, however, at last induced, from motives of piety, to accede, in order to enable the dead body of his father to be buried, and under the shadow of his name, Tuanku Jaffar usurped all power.

When the strength of the monsoon was exhausted Tuanku Houssain came down from Pahang, and went at once to Lingga, where he claimed the throne from his brother, a claim which was readily allowed and Abdulrahman prepared to transfer to Houssain the power which he had hitherto vicariously exercised. Tuanku Jaffar, the Rajah Mudah, was at enmity with the family of Houssain's mother, and had declared himself too openly to

permit him to hope for safety if that prince should be admitted to power, and he now brought all his influence to bear to prevent such a contingency. After unheard of efforts of persuasion and even violence, he was at last successful in inducing Tuanku Abdulrahman to allow his name to be used for the purpose of repelling Tuanku Houssain, who in consequence retired to collect his friends for an attempt to assert his rights by force of arms.

One of the royal wives of the late king, by name Hamida, generally known as Tuanku Putri, had been allowed, as a mark of favour, to adopt Houssain the king's eldest son, she herself being childless, and in virtue of this adoption, the king on his death-bed had intrusted her with the custody of the Regalia. The high birth of Tuanku Putri, and the possession of the Regalia, had given her a considerable degree of influence among the Malays, and she now, in opposition to her brother Tuanku Jaffar, prepared to exert her power to establish her adopted son, and thus to fulfil the last wishes of her deceased husband. Tuanku Houssain was sent to Pahang, where his brother-in-law the Bandahara prepared a force, and came down to assist in placing him on the throne. By Malayan custom it is necessary to a correct installation that the Bandahara, the Tumonggong and other great officers of the state should be present and aiding in the ceremony, and that the proposed monarch be possessed of the Regalia, and be greeted with the acclamations of the people. When therefore Tuanku Jaffar heard of the approach of the Bandahara with Tuanku Houssain, he saw at once that nothing but a great move could prevent the Tuanku from being elevated to the throne.

Tuanku Jaffar, from his prominent position at Rhio, had corresponded with the English Resident at Malacca; and he now addressed an artful letter to that officer appealing to him for protection, and giving a piratical colouring to the Pahang force. The Malacca Resident, in the absence of any qualified person of his own nation, availed himself of the services of one of the Dutch inhabitants, who was sent to examine into the matter. The choice was unfortunate, as it placed a Dutch subject in a position in which, from national feelings, it was not likely that he would form an unbiased opinion. The result of the mission was that the Resident

communicated to the Bandahara that any attempt to disturb the tranquillity of Lingga would be looked on with displeasure by the British government. This communication, through such a channel, was capable of a very wide interpretation and on its delivery the Bandahara retired, leaving his brother-in-law to his own resources.

Being thus left destitute of means to enforce his rights Hous-sain settled down quietly at Pulo Peningat, where his adopted mother, Tuanku Putri, resided, and with the aid of his brother and other relatives was enabled to lead an idle and undistinguished life.

Tuanku Jaffar continued to reign over the islands with a nominal authority, in the name of Tuanku Abdulrahman, and on the occasion of Major Farquhar's visit in 1818, before alluded to, he was found in possession of that power and concluded a treaty with the Major, in the name of the Sultan Abdulrahman. In the year 1823, when called on for an explanation of this fact, Colonel Farquhar informed the government in a letter dated 23rd February of that year, that he found the Rajah Moodah Jaffar, with whom he had previously corresponded, to be the only person in power and that the Rajah Moodah had put the name of Abdulrahman in the treaty, though against the protest of that prince, who was present; and finally, that his reason for not enquiring into the matter then was, that he feared the discussion might have the effect of defeating, by delay, the object of his mission without at the same time any prospect of utility being apparent. Abdulrahman, though thus apparently in the enjoyment of the throne and named Sultan, was not installed by the proper officers, nor was he invested with the regalia, indeed the empire was virtually extinct. He and his brother lived in almost indigence without power and without distinction, while the several portions of the country were parcelled out by such chiefs as were able to maintain their power. The Bandahara had Pahang. Tringanu, Calantan and Patani had long been independent, and the Tumonggong had established himself at the Singapore Straits, where he has been accused of subsisting himself and a few hundred followers by piratical pursuits. The Rajah Moodah maintained himself on the islands, where having in his power and keeping in poverty the two sons of the late

Sultan, he was enabled to prevent all attempts on their part to interfere with the authority he had usurped.

On the return of the Dutch to the Johore Archipelago they retook Rhio and reassumed their former protectorate over the southern portion of the Malayan Peninsula. At Rhio they met Tuanku Jaffar who introduced his protégé Abdulrahman to their notice, as the lawful successor of the deceased Sultan Mahomed and the Dutch recognized that Prince as Sultan, reserving however full power to the Rajah Moodah or, as they styled him, Viceroy. Matters were in this state when Sir Stamford Raffles and Major Farquhar arrived in the harbour of Singapore. The Tumonggong received them, subject to the confirmation of Sultan Houssain, who he informed them was the rightful possessor of the throne of Johore. In his previous mission to Rhio and before the return of the Dutch, Major Farquhar had obtained permission from Tuanku Jaffar, with of course the nominal sanction of Abdulrahman, to form a settlement on the Carimon Islands. He now went over to Tuanku Jaffar, to ask him to substitute Singapore for the Carimons, but the Tuanku informed him that since his last visit the Dutch had come and had forced him to sign a treaty placing them in their former position of Suzerain, and excluding all other European nations from any part of the kingdom of Johore; he however added, that as he had previously promised a settlement to the English he had no objection to their trying if they could to establish themselves at Singapore. With this implied authority the Major returned to Singapore and the next day Sir Stamford made his first treaty with the Tumonggong, subject however to the confirmation of Sultan Houssain. Nothing further was done on the subject of Houssain's claims and right, till the month of June, when on Sir Stamford's return from Acheen he found Major Farquhar had collected information and the Tumonggong was directed to send for Houssain to Pulo Peningat at which place he was then residing. Houssain, after some difficulty, passed over to Singapore where he was agreeably surprised to find himself the object of attention. On the day of his arrival he was installed as Sultan of Johore under the auspices of the English government and was thus suddenly elevated from poverty and neglect to wealth and respectability. After the in-

stallation of Sultan Houssain a new treaty was made with him and the Tumonggong conjointly, so that the English title to Singapore is guaranteed by both the nominal Sultans Abdulrahman and Houssain, by Tuanku Jaffar, and finally by the Tumonggong, who was in actual possession and, by that fact, was perhaps able to give a more valuable title than any or all of the others.

The precarious position of Tuanku Jaffar and the duplicity of the Tumonggong and Tuanku Houssain, occasioned misapprehensions which gave rise to much future embarrassment, and as there was then no clue to the conduct of the Dutch, they were viewed by the English party as grasping and intolerant in the extreme; while on the other hand, the Dutch looked on the English as having added another to the many instances of aggression in which their colonial possessions had been sacrificed to English lust of dominion. At a future period explanations were found, which, if known at the time, might have saved much annoyance.*

As early as the 25th of January, 1819, the Dutch authorities having taken the alarm at the proceedings of Sir Stamford Raffles and Major Farquhar, a letter was addressed to the latter by the Resident at Malacca, informing him that it was reported the English had formed, or were forming a settlement at the Carimons, and protesting on the part of his government against any such arrangements. In consequence of reports which had been circulated Major Farquhar, on the 1st March, a few days after the flag was hoisted at Singapore, addressed a letter to the Pinang government, to advise of the real state of affairs, in case, as he supposed, communications had been made to that government as to the proceedings of the expedition. He denied the truth of the assertion that Singapore had been taken by force, and stated that he had heard the Tumonggong had written to a Dutch gentleman at Malacca to that effect, that he had himself addressed the Tumonggong on the subject, and had been informed that no such letter had been sent. On the 16th of December following, the Dutch Governor-General sent in a formal protest

* See NOTICES OF SINGAPORE.—*Journal Indian Archipelago*, Vol. IX p. 442, for some letters by Tuanku Houssain and the Tumonggong which shew with what duplicity they were acting.

against the whole proceedings at Singapore : and referred the matter to his government in Europe to obtain satisfaction. He had before written to the Bengal government, and had then received an answer, dated 26th June, 1819, to the effect that the matter should be referred ; and in the mean time suggested that both sides should abstain from all ulterior measures. In consequence of this reference the progress of the settlement was impeded, and all useful measures were prevented under an impression of doubt as to future events. From the tenor of the letters of the English Home Authorities, at first, and for a long time, it appeared to be a matter of very great doubt, whether the settlement would be confirmed. This difficulty prevented the English authorities from making any proper arrangements as to the sovereignty of the island, which, in consequence, remained in the name of the native chiefs.

We have seen that neither of the youths set up by the English and Dutch, were fully in possession of the crown ; nor, by reason of their ignoble birth, were either of them capable of being legitimately seated on the Malayan throne. Tuanku Putri held the regalia. The Tumonggong was on the side of Tuanku Houssain, while the Bandahara, at first in favour of his brother-in-law Houssain, was soon won over by the Rajah Moodah, assisted by Dutch influence. Attempts had been made to obtain the regalia from Tuanku Putri, but she resolutely refused to surrender them ; and the English authorities were not prepared to use any other than persuasive means to secure possession.

The gradual progress of affairs at Singapore had rendered the want of a proper understanding with the native Princes a matter of much concern. These chiefs, taken from a state of indigence and raised to comfort and affluence, found their consequence increasing by the gradual advancement of the country which was acknowledged to belong to them, their demands daily increased and it was feared, if measures were not soon taken to get rid of their political interference, that under the advice of evil disposed persons they would place obstacles in the way of a satisfactory arrangement. Under the reference to the Home government however no steps involving a permanent tenure of the island could be entered on. In May 1823, the Java government renewed its complaints

and carried on the correspondence with the British Indian Government in such a tone of asperity as to induce that authority to decline entering further into the matter. Two subjects of complaint were brought forward prominently, the first was that Sir Stamford Raffles had allowed the English flag to be hoisted at Johore, on the mainland, and secondly, that pending the reference to Europe he had issued grants of land at Singapore under the Company's seal. On the first point the Bengal government gave instant satisfaction, as such a measure, however insisted on by the local authorities, was in direct opposition to the fixed policy of the Supreme government, which had long acted on the principle that the territorial extension of any of the Straits Settlements was in itself extremely undesirable. Sir Stamford had been induced to afford the aid of the flag, on the requisition of the native chiefs, according to treaty, on the occasion of Tuanku Jaffar, in the name of Sultan Abdulrahman and at the instigation of the Dutch, having sent over a party to take possession of the mainland of Johore. Without the aid of English influence, Houssain would have been quite unable to hold the mainland; and Sir Stamford considered it politic to allow him the nominal use of the flag. In their letter to the Resident at Singapore, dated 21st May, 1824, the Bengal government censured all those concerned in the flag affair, but conclude by saying that the subsequent measures of the Dutch government deprived them of all right to apology. The affair of the grants of land was explained as a mere formality.

The controversy on these subjects had not improved the state of feeling between the two governments. It became known at this time that the English occupation of Singapore would in all probability be confirmed by the European governments, who had appointed commissioners to examine and arrange the relation of the Dutch and English in the eastern seas. The local authorities at Singapore were in consequence enabled to make progress in effecting a settlement of the sovereignty. The Supreme government gave the most liberal instructions as to a pecuniary compensation to the Sultan and Tumonggong, but directed that government should not be bound to assist or interfere in the management of their affairs beyond the limits of Singapore Island.

It has been already stated that the English exercised all their

influence to obtain the regalia for the installation of Sultan Hous-sain, but without effect. The Dutch were more successful. The Governor of Malacca and another Dutch gentleman of influence went to Pulo Peningat, and after using all their powers of persuasion in vain, are said to have marched a body of troops with loaded arms into the presence chamber of Tuanku Putri and by actual force to have taken the regalia. The possession of the regalia enabled the Dutch to perform a nominal installation, but as the Tumonggong was not present, and, as stated before, Abdulrahman being, equally with Houssain, of ignoble birth, on his mother's side, the ceremony did not strengthen his position as Sultan: while, from the fact of the Rajah Moodah Jaffar having before authorized Major Farquhar, with the sanction of Abdulrahman, to occupy Singapore, it did not weaken the English title. However this may be, on the 7th June, 1823, Sir Stamford Raffles concluded another treaty with the Sultan Houssain and the Tamonggong, a copy of which will be found in the appendix to Mr Newbold's "Account of the British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca" and ultimately, on the 2nd of August in the following year, Mr Crawford concluded a treaty, by which these chiefs alienated for ever all right and title to Singapore, and assumed the position of private individuals while residing within the Island. This favourable result was not arrived at without much trouble, and the exhibition of great talent and patience. Both chiefs, finding they had a strong hold on the English government, were determined to make the best use of it. The bad arrangement on this head has been brought forward against Sir Stamford Raffles as shewing a want of foresight on his part; but the real explanation of that, as well as many other consequences of an inconvenient nature, will be found in the fact that, pending the reference to Europe, his hands were tied; and a rapidly advancing settlement was confined within the cramping limits of first arrangements, without having the advantage of improving and extending those arrangements to meet advancing requirements.

The labours of the Commissioners in Europe resulted in a treaty, signed at London on the 17th of March, 1824, by which the affairs of the two nations to the eastward have ever since

island, and there hoisted a flag, after which they returned to Rhio, and that Syed Akkil had come to Singapore to report and to get re-inforcements. The Resident of Singapore contented himself by the Malayan Peninsula; the Dutch were to hold Biliton, and the English were not to form establishments or make treaties on Sumatra, the Carimons, or the islands south of Singapore. In effect the arrangement resulted in this way:—a line was drawn between Singapore and Rhio; on the Singapore side of this line, including the island itself, with the mainland, and the numerous islets, the English with their Sultan were to occupy: while on the Rhio side the Dutch and their Sultan were to hold. From that time the English Sultan has been known as the Sultan of Singapore, and the Dutch as Sultan of Lingga.

By this treaty all existing disputes were settled, but unfortunately a fresh cause of offence soon broke out on the subject of the Carimon Islands. The Tumonggong had long made use of those islands as convenient stations in his piratical pursuits; and now, with the Sultan, looked on them as part of the Singapore Sultan's territory: but the Dutch Resident at Rhio took a different view of the matter. It so happened that tin had been discovered on the greater Carimon in such quantity as to prove a valuable acquisition. The Dutch directed their Sultan, or rather the Rajah Moodah to take possession and drive out the people of the Singapore Sultan, who were already settled on the islands. The Dutch authorities still affected to deny the rights of Houssain, whom they considered an illegitimate imposter, dependant on his brother Abdulrahman for his daily bread; and were therefore impatient of any attempt to keep those islands for him.

On the 23rd of July, 1827, Syed Kooning, one of the Rhio nobles, wrote to the Sultan of Singapore, that the Sultan of Lingga had made over to the Dutch the lands on the Rhio side of the Straits, and that two years before, Mr Secretary Angelbeck had made the division, but that the Sultan of Singapore had not, though invited thereto, signified his assent. The Sultan of Lingga now therefore begged his brother would hasten his decision, as the Dutch were very pressing. The Rajah Moodah, also, himself wrote to Houssain, that he and Abdulrahman had

been regulated. With regard to the Johore empire they effected a compromise. The English were to hold Singapore, and the Dutch agreed never to form any establishment nor make any treaty on he begged Houssain would withdraw his people. Houssain addressed the Resident at Singapore, and requested assistance, according to treaty, to protect his dominions. The Resident in reply, pointed out that he was not bound to support claims beyond the limits of Singapore; and suggested that, as the Sultan was an independant prince, he could take any measures he thought fit to preserve his territory. Previous to this the Resident at Rhio had written to inform the Singapore Resident that he intended to take possession of the Carimons for his Sultan. The communication was referred to Pinang, with which the government of Singapore had then been incorporated. After receiving the reply of his government, the Resident wrote to Rhio, under date 17th September, 1827, to the effect that the British government would not interfere in any dispute between the Sultan and the Rajah of Lingga, as to the rights of either to the Carimons, but that they openly and decidedly protested against the Dutch taking the Carimons without authority from their European government, as an infraction of clause 6 of the treaty of 1824.

The tin mines had by this time attracted attention, and an Englishman had obtained permission from Houssain to reside and work a mine. This person hearing of the intention of the Lingga party to take possession, addressed the Resident at Rhio to enquire as to the truth of the report, and mentioned that he resided at the Carimons by license of the Sultan. The Resident at Rhio at once wrote to Singapore, complaining of the Sultan of Singapore arrogating to himself any rights as to the Carimons, that his claim was not valid, and that he, the Resident, had written to the Sultan of Lingga to the effect, that after the treaty of 17th March, 1824, the English could not support their Sultan in any attempt on the Carimons.

On the 17th of September, Houssain sent a messenger to inform the Singapore Resident that the Rajah Moodah had gone with 20 sail to take possession of the Carimons, that on their arrival Syed Akkil (Houssain's follower) had refused to allow them to land at his station, and they had gone to the S. E. of the

island, and there hoisted a flag, after which they returned to Rhio, and that Syed Akkil had come to Singapore to report and to get re-inforcements. The Resident of Singapore contented himself by stating that he could not interfere, on which Houssain sent an agent to remonstrate with his younger brother for having entered into a combination with the Rajah Moodah and the Bandahara, to exclude him from the enjoyment of his rights. On Syed Akkil's return to the Carimons, Abdulrahman's flag was taken back to Rhio by his own people, but sent again by the Rajah Moodah.

A correspondence now arose between the Singapore and Rhio Residents, as to the claims of their respective Sultans, from which much information was obtained new to both parties. The Singapore Sultan addressed a letter, forwarded in a private letter from the English to the Dutch Resident, in which he enumerated his claims to superiority and remonstrated against the attempts of the Lingga party on the Carimons. To this the Resident replied through the same channel, by a letter dated 12th October 1827, that he did not expect to have received a letter from that native prince, but as he is under the protection of the English, he will answer it. He then goes on to state that he does not recognize the right of the Singapore prince to be called "Sultan," that he has always known him as an illegitimate son of the late king, that the Lingga Sultan has been recognized by all the people, and by the Dutch and English governments, (referring to Major Farquhar's treaty, dated 19th August 1818). That, after the English King had magnanimously restored Java to the Dutch, the writer went round with Admiral Waltenbeck as Commissioners, and renewed the old treaties with the Sultan of Johore, Pahang, and Rhio, with the omission of former monopolizing stipulations. That the Singapore prince then lived at Rhio, under the name of Tuanku Long, that all the writer knows about him is from his own letters, copies of which are now sent;* that the Lingga Sultan did not, as asserted, give over the Carimons to the Dutch, but that the Dutch were bound by treaty, and the Sultan left it to them, to restore that of which his brother had disloyally dispossessed him. That Tuanku Syed had first gone

* See "Notices of Singapore".—*Journal Indian Archipelago*, Vol. IX p. 442.

to plant the flag, and, on his failure to perform his duty effectually, the Rajah Moodah went himself. That the Singapore prince is wrong in saying that no one can interfere in the Carimons, as the writer, in his office of Resident at Rhio, feels bound to interfere, and the prince need be under no alarm as to the parties coming to blows, for the Rajah Moodah will order the prince's people to leave the island, and they cannot do better, as the Rajah Moodah's orders will be enforced by his large fleet, as well as by two Dutch ships-of-war. That the prince is wrong in attributing his estrangement from his brother to the writer, as it arose when the prince left Rhio to take possession of part of his brother's kingdom.

In his reply to this letter, the English Resident confines himself to the fact that the Singapore Sultan is entirely independant, and that he does not in any respect interfere with his movements, beyond the limits of the island ; a fact which, though often repeated, has never been credited by the Dutch, who have not been able to discriminate in the difference of circumstances between the English possessions in Hindostan, where the policy of interference is a necessity, and those in the Straits, where such a policy is earnestly deprecated.

On the 17th October, the Dutch Resident answered that as the prince is not under protection, he begs the Resident will not forward any more of his letters, as without the protection of the English government, the writer cannot place himself on a level with that prince ; that the Dutch have no idea of establishing a factory at the Carimons, but as the Sultan of Lingga is the vassal of the Netherlands government, that government is bound to protect and preserve to him all that remained after the arrangement (Treaty of London) by which he lost so much ; that the Carimon Islands would be better governed under the Lingga Sultan, the legitimate sovereign, and piracy less practised than under the Singapore prince ; that he is more inclined to view that prince as a pirate than the Sultan, (Abdulrahman) who is more dependant, and could consequently be more easily checked.

On the 22nd October, the English Resident reported the outbreak of open hostilities at the Carimons, and objected to the sanction which would thus be given to piracy. The Rhio expedition was headed by a Dutch schooner which commenced the action on

arriving at Carimon, by anchoring within musket shot of the stockade and opening her fire. The first force was soon followed by another, including the Dutch Resident and two officers, with 50 Dutch European troops, who landed and having erected a stockade opposite the Singapore Sultan's stronghold, on the 8th of November the place was taken.

When at the Carimons the Dutch Resident addressed a letter to the Singapore Resident in answer to one above quoted, of the 22d October, stating that he was surprised to find a number of regular well known pirates at the Carimons, under the Singapore prince; that the Lingga Sultan formerly engaged in similar courses, but the Dutch had put a stop to it, and suggests that the English might do the same, if disposed, with their Sultan. "But now, and for a long time, they (the pirates) have been in the service of the prince of Singapore. It is by him they are regularly equipped, and for him two years ago Rajah Endoot took a 'tope' under Dutch colours, the cargo of which the prince, whom I call Tuanku Long, sold at Singapore. All this can be proved, and before you have finished reading this letter, you will learn many things of this prince which will astonish you more." The letter then goes on to describe the taking of the Carimons. The Rajah Moodah demanded possession from Syed Akkil, who said he would rather die first. Two pirate boats broke the blockade, got in and joined the defenders.* There were two Englishmen in the batteries; the one who had written to the writer, however, had come to ask his protection at Rhio, which had been granted, and he was to keep his mine under the new rulers. The present was a fine opportunity to destroy a lot of pirates, and the writer determined to effect that desirable object. He had taken precautions to prevent the introduction of warlike stores, but one boat had brought arms from Singapore. In this boat, which was taken, were discovered letters, among the rest one from the Singapore prince to the chief at the Carimons, in which, after informing his correspondent that the Resident at Singapore would neither aid him nor allow him to ship arms, the following

* One of these boats was said afterwards to have been a peaceable trading boat with a cargo from Singapore to Kampar; the people returned to Singapore and complained that they had been wantonly fired into, and two of their number shot.

passage occurred :—" since it is thus that the English government assist me, if you think the force on the other side is very considerable, I will join you myself, and we will go and sweep the sea in the most open manner and without sparing any person."

The Carimons were thus taken and have remained in the hands of the Lingga chief ever since. No attempt has been made to turn them to any good purpose except in the matter of tin mining. The Rajah Moodah farmed out the tin monopoly to a Chinaman of Rhio, who continued to work the mines for four years with very little success. In 1828 he only raised 186 piculs; in 1829 234 piculs; in 1830 183 piculs, and in 1831 215 piculs. After this last date he discontinued further operations, the speculation from various causes having proved a failure. Nothing was done at the Carimons till the year 1853, when the Rajah Moodah entered into an arrangement with a Dutch gentleman, who agreed to rent the island for a period of 25 years, for the purpose of working the tin mines.

It would appear that the Rajah Moodah of Rhio occupies towards the Dutch, the same position which the Tumonggong of Singapore does to the English. Both these chiefs are permitted to arrogate to themselves rights which are not compatible with the asserted sovereignty of the Sultans of Singapore and of Lingga, the chiefs under whom alone they can exercise power. Whoever may be Sultan, it is perfectly clear that the Rajah Moodah and Tumonggong, having no authority of their own, can only exercise power through the Sultan, whose ministers they are; and that any territorial claims, particularly on the part of the Tumonggong, can exist only by favour of the Sultan.

The subsequent history of the Sultan and Tumonggong may be here shortly related. After Mr Crawford's treaty of 1824, they lost all political power in the island of Singapore, and thenceforth were obliged to look elsewhere to eke out a revenue, in addition to the allowance they each received from the English government. The effects of English protection had not worked equally on the two chiefs. The Sultan, who was naturally placed above the Tumonggong, had been taken from a state of absolute indigence and raised at once to importance, while the Tumonggong had been found in a state of independence, and engaged in

a traffic, the profits of which were materially diminished by his English connexion. The Tumonggong therefore looked with little favour on the Sultan, whom he found thus elevated, and was disposed to think that the advantages he derived from the English were not proportioned to his merits. The Tumonggong died on the 8th of December, 1825, and was succeeded by his son Abdullah, born about 1807. This son, although not legitimately raised to the dignity, according to Malayan customs, has continued to occupy his father's place. The government at the time the last treaty was made had stipulated that the Tumonggong should no longer reside in the town of Singapore, where his half savage followers had always been the terror of more civilized people. A compensation was given, and land fixed on at Teluk Blanga, where he and his son continued to reside, and where they were both accused of being largely concerned in the encouragement of piracy. The place is now devoted to more peaceful purposes, and under its English name of "New Harbour", is likely to acquire a wide celebrity as the centre of operations of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company in these seas. That Company has already built enormous warehouses and wharfs, where their numerous steam vessels can be coaled with facility*.

The pension settled on the Tumonggong by treaty was only for life; however, on his death government awarded a considerable proportion which is still regularly paid to his children. Two of the present Tumonggong's sons were educated under the patronage of the local government by a missionary at Singapore, and with a knowledge of reading, writing, &c, have acquired a considerable degree of improvement in habits and ideas. It is very much to be regretted that a similar course was not adapted until lately towards the Sultan's children.

Sultan Houssain lived till 1835; and then died at Malacca, whither he had fled to escape the persecution of his followers. Without any occupation or interest at stake, this prince had sunk into imbecility, and in his weakness was imposed on by his family. The Tumonggong had retained the chief influence on the mainland

* Other Companies and individuals have also establishments at Teluk Blanga and it is probable that ere many years elapse a large naval establishment, including docks &c, will be organised at this place by the British government (1857).—Ed.

of Johore, of which country he was virtually chief, although the English government affected to treat Houssain as Sultan of Johore. It appears to be pretty evident that from the first Houssain had little influence in the country. On the death of his father, the Bandahara took Pahang and the north of Johore; the Rajah Moodah took Lingga, Bentan, Rhio, &c; the Tumonggong, Singapore and South Johore, while the territory about Malacca was retained by the petty chiefs of the Menangkabow states and the Tumonggong of Moar, all of whom had thrown off their little remaining allegiance and assumed independance. The Tumonggong while accepting Houssain as Sultan, to please the English, did not restore to him the portion he had usurped of the kingdom, and the English, in accordance with their long established policy in these seas, did not interfere between them. The Tumonggong, moreover, took care to have his authority recognized as ruler of Singapore, by the treaty. The whole influence over the mainland of Johore remained in the hands of the Tumonggong, to the exclusion of the Sultan, who without any inducement to exertion fell, as before stated, into indolent habits. He had one son named Abdul Jalil by a wife of inferior birth and two sons and two daughters born between 1819 and 1824 of a wife of noble descent named Tuanku Purboo.

Tuanku Purboo saw with regret the destruction falling on her family by the easy indolence of her husband. The numerous requisitions on his purse by followers, whose claims were secondary, kept the family in constant difficulties, and habits of improvidence were bringing them fast to ruin, when Abdul Kadir, the son of a Kling trader, appeared. Being the son of an old mercantile friend of the deceased Sultan the young Kling was hospitably received. Abdul Kadir like most of his countrymen had the gift of figures, and gratitude for his friendly reception induced him to exert his abilities to rescue the family from ruin. Tuanku Purboo soon saw the advantage of his services and determined to support him. To that end she treated him with respect and consideration and gradually attached him to the fortunes of the family. The economical arrangements of Abdul Kadir were necessarily distasteful to the followers, who soon exerted all their influence to get rid of him. A party was

forced under Abdul Jalil, the Sultan's eldest son, and a system of annoyance was commenced which ended at last in bringing forward charges of the most disgraceful immorality against the Sultana. These charges were extensively circulated through the Malayan states and called down a storm of reproaches and remonstrances, which would undoubtedly have resulted in the sacrifice of the Sultana's life, if she had not, fortunately for her, been living under the protection of the English flag. Finding herself and the Sultan too much exposed to danger, the Sultana, who exercised an almost unlimited influence over her husband, induced him in 1834 to leave Singapore and live at Malacca, where they would be less subject to inconvenience. Abdul Kadir accompanied the family.

The absence of the Sultan, and the consequent stoppage of supplies, among the numerous needy hangers-on at Singapore, called forth new efforts, and the most desperate councils were proposed in order to secure the Sultan's return. It was even proposed to carry him off by force, and an attempt was made on Abdul Kadir's life. He was stabbed by the hand of an unknown assassin at night in the Court yard of the Sultan's residence but the wound did not prove fatal. Alarmed at the prospect of losing the chief support and earnest councillor of the family, the Sultana now induced her husband to bestow the hand of one of their daughters on Abdul Kadir. Tuanku Safriah was chosen as the bride. The ceremony was performed at night, two days after the attempted murder, and now, having irrevocably united the fortunes of Abdul Kadir with those of her family, the Sultana hoped the opposition of the Sultan's followers would cease; but in this she was disappointed. Led on by Abdul Jalil, then a youth of about 25 years of age, and already of flagitious character, the neighbouring Malayan states were inundated with scandalous reports as to the alleged improper intimacy of the Sultana with her son-in-law, and the feelings of the whole race were roused to frenzy by the indignity put on the descendant of their ancient and honoured line of kings by an alliance with a low born Kling.

The Sultan died at Malacca on the 5th of September 1835, and, in opposition to the endeavours and even threats of the young Tumonggong and of Abdul Jalil, his body was buried at the

Tranqueira Mosque, in the Northern suburb of Malacca. The family applied to have a pension allotted to them, in continuance of the allowance granted by treaty, which ceased with the Sultan's life, in the same manner as with the Tumonggong. The scandalous reports against the Sultana were alleged as a reason why the local authorities could not recommend her to the protection of the government, but pensions were allotted to each of the children, including Tuanku Safriah on her becoming a widow two years afterwards. Depositions were taken by the Police Magistrate at Singapore as to the Sultana's conduct; but as the evidence rested on the statement of discarded servants, and on the credit of Abdul Jalil, whose word would not have been received on any other subject, we may be justified now in discrediting the story. The charges made render it necessary to believe that the Sultana, with every opportunity and inducement to conduct such a criminal intrigue with caution and secrecy, not any lost sight of ordinary prudence, but even of the modesty never entirely absent from the most abandoned of her sex.

On the death of the Sultan no steps were taken as to the succession. The old empire was too far gone to admit of any hope of regeneration, and, without the aid of the English government, the Sultan's son could not attain that position of authority in which alone his elevation could prove useful. The slight degree of influence attained, through the countenance of the English government, by the late Sultan, died with him, and the empire now remains without an acknowledged head, a prey to the violence and rapacity of any chief able to assert an authority by force of arms. The fact that the English government has not put down by force the encroachments of the Tumonggong on the Sultan's rights, but by silence has, in native idea at least, countenanced and encouraged them, is naturally construed by natives into a desire on the part of government for the exaltation of the Tumonggong at the Sultan's expence. The Tumonggong exercises a power in the southern portion of the Peninsula, where, having abandoned his previous pursuits, he has lately signalized himself by a strict monopoly of gutta percha over territory to which he originally had no rights except as the servant of the Sultan.

The only step taken by government in favour of the Sultan was

to declare by a local announcement, dated at Singapore, 16th September 1840, that Mahomed Alli son of the late Sultan, having arrived at Singapore, the government considered him to be entitled to succeed to the property granted to the late Sultan, as adverted to in the 8th article of the treaty of 2nd August 1824*. The title even has dropped, as the youth is simply styled Tuanku Alli. The great officers of state necessary to a formal installation, even supposing that Alli could make out his title, would object to fulfil their office. The Bandahara and Rajah Moodah are in the interests of the Dutch, while the Tumonggong already possesses a great portion of those rights of which a recognition of Tuanku Alli would deprive him.

[A recognition of Tuanku Alli as Sultan of Johore by the Tumonggong, under the auspices of government, took place in March 1855, but at the same time he signed an agreement by which the greater part of Johore territory was made over to the Tumonggong. The following is a copy of this document :—

Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between His Highness Sultan Allie Iskander Shah bin Sultan Houssain Mahomed Shah, and His Highness Dattoo Tamoongong Diong Ibrahim Sree Maharajah bin Abdool Rahman Sree Maharajah, who are both equally desirous to compose and put a final end to the differences and disagreements which have heretofore subsisted between them, relative to their respective claims on the Territory and Sovereignty of Johore, and to establish and maintain peace, friendship, and thoroughly amicable relations between them from henceforth in all times to come.

1.—His Highness the Sultan Allie Iskander Shah Bin Sultan Houssain Mahomed Shah for himself, his Heirs and Successors:

* The following is a Copy of the Notification:—

NOTIFICATION.

Mahomed Alli, eldest son of the late Mahomed Shah, Sultan of Johore, having arrived at this station, it is hereby notified to all whom it may concern, that he is looked upon by the British Government in every respect as the successor of his late father, and entitled to all the property upon the ground granted to the late Sultan by the East India Company, situated at Campong Glam, and more particularly adverted to in the 8th article of the Treaty entered into by the late Sultan with John Crawford, Esquire, as the Representative of the East India Company, on the 2nd day of August 1824.

By order of the Hon'ble the Governor.

T. CHURCH, Resident Councillor.

Singapore, 16th September, 1840.

does hereby cede in full Sovereignty and absolute Property to His Highness Dattoo Tamoongong Diong Ibrahim Sree Maharajah Bin Abdool Rahman Sree Maharajah, his Heirs and Successors for ever, the whole of the Territory of Johore within the Malayan Peninsula and its Dependencies, with the exception of the Kassang territory hereinafter mentioned.

2.—In consideration of the cession contained in the foregoing Article, His Highness Dattoo Tamoongong Diong Ibrahim Sree Maharajah Bin Abdool Rahman Sree Maharajah, does hereby agree to pay immediately after the execution of these Articles, to His Highness Sultan Allie Iskander Shah Bin Sultan Houssain Mahomed Shah, the sum of Five Thousand Spanish Dollars, and further engages that he the said Dattoo Tumonggong Diong Ibrahim Sree Maharajah Bin Abdulrahman Sree Maharajah, his Heirs and Successors, shall and will, from and after the first day of January, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-five, pay to his said Highness Sultan Allie Iskander Shah Bin Sultan Houssain Mahomed Shah, his Heirs and Successors, the sum of Spanish Dollars Five Hundred per mensem.

3.—His Highness Dattoo Tumonggong Diong Ibrahim Sree Maharajah Bin Abdulrahman Sree Maharajah, hereby withdraws all claim whatsoever to the said territory of Kassang, consisting of the lands lying between the river of Kassang and the river of Muar, and of which the said river of Kassang forms the boundary on the northward, and that of Muar on the southward, and being part of the ancient territory of Johore, and consents that His Highness Sultan Allie Iskander Shah Bin Sultan Houssain Mahomed Shah, his Heirs and Successors shall have and enjoy the same in full sovereignty and property for ever.



4.—His Highness Sultan Allie Iskander Shah Bin Sultan Houssain Mahomed Shah, for himself, his Heirs and Successors, hereby agrees that the said territory of Kassang shall not be alienated or disposed of to any party or power without the same being in the first instance offered to the East India Company and then to His Highness Dattoo Tamonggong Diong Ibrahim Sree Maharajah, his Heirs or Successors, on such terms as His Highness the Sultan Allie Iskander Shah Bin Sultan Houssain Mahomed Shah, his Heirs or Successors, may be desirous to cede it to any other party or power willing to treat for the same.

5.—The subjects of each of the said contracting parties shall have full liberty to trade to and pass in and out of the respective territories but shall be amenable for any crime or offence committed in the territory of either of the said contracting parties according to the law there in force, and each of the contracting parties for Himself, his Heirs and Successors, hereby solemnly engages to do no act calculated or having a tendency to promote or foment disturbances within the territory of the other of them, but will respect truly and faithfully adhere to and observe the engagement hereby entered into by them respectively.

6.—The said contracting parties hereby agree that any difference or disagreement that may arise between them, on matters falling within the foregoing articles 4th and 5th, shall be referred to the final decision of the British Government of India, with whose cognizance the said contracting parties have entered into this treaty.

7.—Nothing contained herein shall be taken or construed to modify or affect the provisions of the treaty concluded on the 2nd day of August, 1824, between the East India Company and their late Highnesses the Sultan and Tumonggong of Johore.

Thus done and concluded at Singapore, the tenth day of March, in the Year of Christ One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-Five.

Executed before	<i>Tumonggong's</i>	<i>Sultan's</i>
W. J. BUTTERWORTH,	<i>Seal.</i>	<i>Seal.</i>
<i>Governor P. W. Island,</i>		
<i>Singapore, and Malacca</i>		

T. CHURCH,
Resident Councillor.

THE WEST HIMALAIC OR TIBETAN TRIBES OF ASAM,
BURMA AND PEGU.

By J. R. LOGAN.

I HAVE already described the general features of the physical geography of South Eastern Asia, and marked out the different provinces into which it is divided by nature, and which have greatly influenced the migrations and the distribution of its tribes.* I now propose to give some brief notices of the tribes of the southern Oceanic division; beginning with those of the Irawadi.

During the earlier ages of the occupation of N. E. India and Ultraindia by the Tibetan race there was no break in the continuity of its tribes. But in the historical period the people of Bengal have spread into the valley of Asam, and the predominant inhabitants have long been alien in language, in civilisation and to a considerable degree in race, from the older tribes of its mountainous borders. Those on the south being thus cut off from their sister tribes on the north, while they have continued to influence each other, may be noticed separately in the first instance.

The connected territory of Ultraindia, over which they and the allied East Himalaic or Mon-Anam tribes are scattered, has as its northern boundary the left side of the valley of the Brahmaputra as far as the head of Asam, and a line drawn thence eastward along the range in which the Irawadi has its sources and across the converging meridional chains beyond to the most eastern, the Mangli, which separates the Kiang from the Mc-kong. Its eastern land boundary is probably the southern continuation of this chain, until the valley of the Kiang turns east, when the eastern water shed of the Sang-koi or river of Tong-kin becomes the boundary to the Gulf of Tong-kin. The most northerly part of its western margin is also the Brahmaputra, or rather the low land on its left side. From the mouths of the Brahmaputra and Sang-koi it stretches southward, dividing the Bay of Bengal from the China Sea.

* Ethnology of South Eastern Asia.—*Jour. Ind. Arch.* IV, p. 456.

The northern portion is a broad highland, rising to a great height in its more easterly ranges, but not exceeding 6,000 feet in its more western. The precise character of the configuration has only been ascertained at a few places. The ranges are meridional, with the exception of that of Asam which is parallel to the Himalayan. They appear to be in general closely crowded, but some considerable valleys exist. Those of the Irawadi do not contain large rivers as the drainage is limited to the southern face of the range at the head of the basin, but a large quantity of water must be directed into the more eastern basins from the deep and narrow ravines that descend from Tibet. The principal upper vallies from W. to E. are those of the Kyen Dwen, Mi-li, and Shu-mai—branches of the Irawadi,—the Sa-luen [Than-lwen] and the prolongation of the Me-kong. The junction of the Mi-li and Shu-mai about 25° N. forms the Irawadi and gives two large basins for the western drainage, that of the Irawadi and that of its tributary the Kyen Dwen; to which must be added that of the Barak or Surma, which flows westward into the plain of Silhet. The ranges which divide the basins of the Irawadi and Kyen Dwen terminate about $c. 22^{\circ}$ N., but the more western ranges are prolonged to the southward, one of them stretching as a rugged wall along the Bay of Bengal to Cape Negrais $c. 16^{\circ}$ N. and forming, with the eastern range of the Irawadi, the extensive lower basin of that river.

A different configuration characterises the eastern division of the territory. The mountain land, instead of converging and rapidly terminating, diverges and sends out several chains, some of which are prolonged far to the southward. That which divides the Sa-luen from the basin of the Irawadi terminates at the head of the Gulf of Martaban, nearly opposite the extremity of the western bounding range of that basin. The next, forming the water shed between the narrow basin of the Sa-luen and that of the Me-nam, is continued to the southward as a marginal chain as far as the head of the Gulf of Siam, when it becomes the great peninsular range which only terminates at Singapore. An offshoot from the second, commencing in Yun-nan about 22° N. and terminating about 19° N. appears to separate the two upper basins of the Me-nam, the Nai-king-ho and the Min-lo-ho

The third chain at first divides the Sa-luen (Nu-kiang or Lu-kiang of the Chinese) from the Me-nam. Further south it forms the water shed between that river and the Me-kong, and then continues until it strikes the eastern side of the Gulf of Siam about 12° when it turns to the S. E. forming the S. W. marginal chain and Archipelago of Kamboja. The last chain is that of Anam, which in its upper part separates the great basin of the Me-kong from that of the Sang-koi, and then becomes the marginal range of Anam, terminating c. 10° N.

The region, viewed as a whole, presents three great basins, a southern peninsular belt and narrow eastern and western marginal belts, both prolonged at their heads into inland ranges. The first and shortest basin is that of the Irawadi with which that of the Sa-luen is closely connected, the watershed bordering on the latter river, and the two basins anastomosing to the south of 21° . The second principal basin, that of the Me-nam, extends 2° , and the third, that of the Me-kong, 6° , more to the south. The two are connected about 18° N. by the navigable river or channel of Anan M-yit. All the three basins, although so expanded at their mouths as to rest on a transverse line of about 700 miles in length, converge as we advance to the north, until they do not cover a space 100 miles in breadth.

Until the north eastern portions of the region are explored, it is impossible to say in what precise manner this configuration has affected the spread of population. The first migration from the northern side of the Himalaya is now best represented by the Anam, Kambojan, Mon and Lau tribes. Their languages have structural and glossarial characters which distinguish them from the Tibetan, and in the first era of their southern dispersion they must have occupied a part of Bengal and had a close intercourse with aboriginal Indian tribes of the N. E. Dravirian or Kol family. At a later period they were intimately connected with the succeeding great migration from Tibet—that of the proper Tibeto-Burman tribes—but appear to have been gradually pressed by them to the eastward and southward. Authentic history and tradition begin at very recent periods even with the most advanced nations of this province. Two thousand years ago the Chinese found the Anamese in possession of the basin of the Sang-koi.

About fourteen centuries later we get the first clear historical glimpse of the Lau on the Indian side. They were then a powerful and conquering people in the upper portion of the basin of the Irawadi, where their capital was at Mo-gaung [Muang-gaung, Mung-khung] and whence in 1224 A. D. they sent an expedition which subjugated Asam and established the Ahom rule. They had only recently advanced from the eastward, according to one account. Their native country was a portion of the basins of the Me-kong and the Me-nam, including Yun-nan. About the same time they took possession of a portion of the higher basin of the Mi-li, where their chief seat was at Khamti, whence the name by which this branch is still known. From traditions and records both of the Shans and the Manipuri, it appears that their history as a powerful people on the Irawadi goes back to a much earlier period. The rule of the first Shan prince is placed in the first century of the Christian era. In the seventh and eighth mention is made of their conquests on all sides, including expeditions to Manipur and Asam. These traditions are worthy of more attention than they have hitherto received, for the dialects of several of the Asam hill tribes have Lau ingredients which cannot have been derived from Ahom and can only be explained by a more ancient and more intimate intercourse with the Lau. I have no doubt that the race advanced into the Irawadi basin, and thence influenced the N. E. tribes of Asam (Tablung, Muthun, Joboka &c), some centuries prior to the Ahom dynasty. But their language places it beyond doubt that this movement was a reflux on the province occupied by the family before they established themselves in Yun-nan. This race appear to have come under the influence of the Chinese about the time when Tong-king first passed under their yoke, the first Chinese colonies in Yun-nan having been planted during the Han dynasty (B. C. 200 to A. D. 220). The original transfer of the Anamese and Lau from the vallies of the Ganges and the Irawadi to those of the Sang-koi and the Me-kong must have taken place at a much earlier period, and when their civilisation was very different from what it became under the influence of the Chinese. When the Lau, after an intimate intercourse with that nation, again entered the upper basin of the Irawadi, their superiority to most of the

inner tribes of the Tibeto-Burman family before whom their forefathers had retired, enabled them to obtain a permanent footing. At present under the names of Shan and Khamti they are found in upper Asam and scattered over a large portion of the northern half of the basin of the Irawadi nearly to the confluence of the Khyen-dwen with the principal stream. Sporadic villages are even found in Arracan. On the eastern side they are scattered along the Sa-luen as far as 18°. The whole of the Me-nam basin is in their hands, with the exception of a small part of the right side near its head; and they also occupy a large portion of the basin of the Me-kong. The eastern tribes are known as Lo-lo, Lau and Thai. It is probable that the Siamese, with the tribes of the upper Me-nam and of the Me-kong, are directly connected with those of Yun-nan, and are not offshoots from the colony of Muang-gaung. The Siamese have advanced more than half way down the Malay Peninsula, and but for the check given them towards the end of last century by the establishment of a British settlement at Pinang, their sway would now have embraced Perak and probably extended to the confines of Malacca. The northern clans almost everywhere retain their independence, although owning a nominal allegiance, and in some cases paying tribute, to Burma, to China, or to Siam, those on the frontiers of Yun-nan propitiating both the Golden Foot and the Son of Heaven by an acknowledgment of fealty, and Siam sending a triennial offering to the latter. In the basin of the Irawadi the Shans are intermixed with the Tibeto-Burman tribes amongst whom they have intruded, but in large portions of it they are the principal population, and in the N. E. corner of the empire the Khamti may be considered as independent.

Having thus briefly adverted to the distribution of the intrusive people, we may now direct our attention to that of the native tribes of the Irawadi.

As the central and dominant tribe of the Irawadi are also the principal people of the adjacent marginal belt on the west, the latter may, for ethnic purposes, be considered as a portion of the province of the Irawadi and all the tribes be designated collectively as those of the Irawadi. The northern part is an extensive highland. Its most salient features are the Asam range

which forms the southern boundary of that valley, and the range which, separating from it in about long. 95° E. and taking a south westerly direction, at first forms the watershed between the Kyen-dwen and the Brahmaputra and its affluents, and then running south east under the name of the Yuma, divides the remainder of the basin of the Irawadi from the Bay of Bengal. The wide and hilly space between the northern part of this range and the S. W. lowlands of the Brahmaputra is broken by the valley of the Barak or Surma. The highland on its north, forming the extremity of the Asam range, is occupied by the Garo, Kyi or Kasia, Bodo Mikir and A-rung,—one of the Naga-Manipuric tribes. Kuki clans from the south have, in recent times, crossed the valley and established themselves in Jyntea and Cachar.

The highland to the south of it may be divided into four portions. The first is the broad highland of Tiperah, lying between the Barak and the Fenny, and continued to the eastward till the crest of the great range is passed, and it slopes into the valley of Manipur. This is occupied to the west by the Kuki tribes. Their eastern range is not ascertained, but from the relationship of their dialect to some of those of Manipur, it is probable that similar tribes are spread over the whole of this tract. On the S. E. they are succeeded by the Bong-ju and Shen-du, who differ little from them.

2nd. The basin of the Kurmfuli,—the river of Chittagong,—with the marginal flat country to the south of it as far as the Naf. Its western boundary is the sea and its eastern may be extended beyond the plain to the crest of the Arakan range. It is chiefly occupied by Mugs, a mixed race supposed to be descendants of the ancient Burmans of the country and Bengali women.

3rd. The ranges of hills east of the seaboard as far as the Yuma chain, comprising the basins of the Ma-yu, Kola-dan and Le-myo. The last two rivers rise in the southern mountains of Tiperah and Manipur, and the heads of their highest feeders must closely approach the Manipur river on the east and the southern rivers of Tiperah on the west. They are divided by a broad belt of hill, running S. S. W., across which the Kola-dan breaks and receives

the Ma-yu at La-rak c. 21° . The southern limit of this division may be placed at Ramri I. c. 19° , where the Yu-ma range meets the sea. It expands as it proceeds north, and its northern limit is about 23° , extending from c. 93° to c. 94° E.

4th. The western slopes of the chain down to its termination in Cape Negrais with the occasional narrow flats between it and the sea. The Yu-ma range, north of 20° , or to the eastward of the lower part of the valley of the Kola-dan, is broad and rises to a height of about 6,000 feet, the western declivity being very steep and the eastern a series of decreasing lateral ranges. North of 21° , where the ranges between the Yu-ma and the sea become more numerous, forming the broad highland of the Le-Myo, Kola-dan and Arakan ranges, the Yu-ma diminishes in height.

The older tribes of this division, who with the Kuki may be termed the Yu-ma group, are the Bong-ju in the upper part of the Kurm-fuli,—the Kun and the Heu-ma or Shin-du to the east of the sources of the Kola-dan in the unexplored tract of mountain and forest that lies between it and the Manipur valley,—the Lung-khe on its higher waters,—the Kyau, the Ku-mi and the Ka-mi towards the middle of the basin,—the Mru to the north west of them,—the Sak on the Naf,—and the Khyeng from the Kola-dan on both sides of the Yu-ma to about 19° . The seaboard and the lower portions of the vallies opening into it form the country of the Rakhoung-tha or Arracan tribe, of whom the Burmans are a branch. Some are found on the banks of the mountain streams living in the same villages with the hill tribes, and are distinguished by the name of Khyoung-tha. Their language proves that they do not belong to the Yuma group, but are intruders from the north; and their own traditions recognize the Ku-mi as the tribe in possession of the sea-board when they entered Arracan. The Mrung in the upper basin of the Mayu and towards the hill frontier of Chittagong, are a colony imported from the Bodo country by the Kings of Arracan at the period when their conquests extended far un eastern Bengal.

The eastern face of the range belongs to the basin of the Irawadi, of which the extreme western and eastern limits are the Yuma chain and the belt of highland extending along the right side of the

Sa-luen. The upper portion of the basin is much broader than the lower, and forms a mountainous country. Its northern margin includes the eastern half of the Asam chain (the Patkoi Mountains &c) and the Lang-tan and other lofty mountains which unite it to the Himalaya range, giving rise on the one side to the Brahmaputra and on the other to the Irawadi. The waters that flow southward from the vallies amongst these mountains, between the eastern heads of the Asamese streams and the Go-lang Li-yong range that borders the Lu-kiang or Sa-luen, are collected in the two basins of the Irawadi and the Kyen-dwen which stretch to the S. S. E., divided by a mountainous tract, chiefly occupied by Shans, which terminates near Ava. Here the Irawadi, bending to the west along the extremity of this tract, receives the Kyen Dwen, and again turning south flows into its lower basin. Unlike the northern basins, it is in great measure low, consisting of hilly, undulating and flat ground as far south as 18° N., when the delta commences. The greater part is covered with forest and grass and very thinly inhabited. The northern part is higher, and better peopled and cultivated.

The lower basin above the delta of Pegu, the southern part of the upper basin, and the valley of the river beyond as far as Ba-mo, form the seat of the predominant people—the Burmans.* They are also found in the delta, but their progress there has been comparatively recent, and the prior inhabitants still form the great majority. The dominant nation, who long successfully contested its sway with the Burmans, were an East Himalaic people, the Mon, —the Ta-lain of the Burmans, the Peguans of Europeans. Their

* A corruption by Europeans of the native *Ma-ran-ma*, *M-ran-ma*, whence the softened modern *M-yan-ma*, *M-ya-ma*, the root being *ran*, one of the forms of a widely spread Himalaic name for *man*. *Ka-ren* has the same root with the guttural in place of the labial prefix.

The principal seat of the Burman power appears to have been for the longest periods in the same part of the basin where it now is. But the capital has shifted. The era of their greatest stability and prosperity was from the beginning of the second to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the capital was at Pagan, probably the Pagan above, and not that below, Ava. Previous to this, probably on their first advance from Arracan, they appear to have conquered the northern part of the ancient kingdom of the Mon, for their capital was for 305 years at Prome. From their removing to a position so much more inland, it is probable that they had not only failed in extending their sway to the mouth of the Irawadi, but were driven from Prome by the Mon and forced to retire from the neighbourhood. It was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that they succeeded in annexing Pegu. In the beginning of the eighteenth the Mon threw off the yoke and in their turn subjugated all Burmah for a short period.

range embraces the delta of the Sa-luen, where Moutama or Martaban was their chief port. They long preceded the Siamese in the Tenasserim provinces; and the languages of the Simang and Binua of the Malay Peninsula retain deep traces of their ancient influence to the south. A colony is also found in the basin of the Me-nam. Before the great southern movement of the Lau, the Mon appear to have occupied that basin also, and to have marched and intermixed with the closely allied Kambojans of the lower Me-kong. Another tribe also preceded the Burmans in the delta, where they are still joint occupants with the Mon. The Ka-ren are found in the lower plains of the Sa-luen, the deltas of the Se-tang and Irawadi, the middle basin of the Se-tang as far as Tongo, and in Tenasserim. In Martaban there is also a remnant of an allied tribe—the Toung-thu. Both the Ka-ren and Toung-thu belong to the Yu-ma branch of the Tibeto-Burman family. The long and narrow hill tract between the vallies of the Irawadi and the Sa-luen as far north as 23° is occupied by cognate tribes called Ka-ren-ni (Red Ka-ren,)* and as this branch has a parallel range on the western side of the Irawadi, we may accept their own tradition that they preceded the Burmans as the dominant people of the basin. They must have been so from a very remote period, and were so widely diffused, that, in the absence of the Mon, they would have claimed the title of aborigines. From the valley of the Barak on the west to the borders of Yun-nan on the east the whole province to the southward appears to have been occupied by them. No trace of the Mon race is left along the Yu-ma range, tribes of the Karen family being the exclusive holders of its inner vallies. Some of the very imperfectly described tribes on the eastern side of the Irawadi, to the north of the Ka-ren-ni—the Za-baing, Ka-khyen &c—may belong to the older immigration. But the Mon is the only known remnant within the ancient Ka-ren province, and its earlier preservation is doubtless owing to the same causes that have enabled it to hold its ground so long against the second and still more powerful Tibeto-Burman horde of the Irawadi,—and

* It is often said that their dialect is the same as that of the southern Karen. From a short vocabulary, for which I am indebted to Mr O'Riley, it is certain that Karen-ni—or this dialect of it—is a distinct and very ancient one of the Yu-ma family.

these are to be found in the arts, civilisation and wealth which it derived from its maritime position.

The northern part of the basin has only been very partially explored by Europeans. Beyond the Ka-ren-ni there are other tribes on the left side of the Irawadi of which we only know the names. The Pa-long Pa-on or Za-baing are partly subject to Mo-meit [Mung-myt, Moug-m-ri] and are located to the east of it and along the Chinese frontier as far as the latitude of Ba-mo [Mang-mo]. They are civilised and remarkably industrious, being good carpenters, dyers and blacksmiths. Their *dhas* or swords are exclusively used in and around Ba-mo. The Chinese who carry on the trade between Yun-nan and Burmah by Ba-mo describe the route as passing across a range of hills inhabited by Ka-khyeng and Pa-long and then entering a Shan country—the Ko-pyi doug of the Burmans.

The Ka-du are scattered over the country between Kyn-dung and Moug-khung, a space of nearly two degrees. According to Hannay (252) they are “a race of people of different origin from the Burmahs.”

The Phwon are found to the north of Ba-mo and describe themselves as emigrants from a country to the N. E. called Mo-toung Moo-long. They are said to have a distinct language, but none of its vocables have been published.

The Ka-khyen to the east of Koung-toung and Ba-mo are described by Captain Hannay as, with few exceptions, perfect savages in their appearance. “They have long faces and straight noses, with a very disagreeable expression about the eyes, which was rendered still more so by their lanky black hair being brought over the forehead so as entirely to cover it, and then cut straight across in a line with the eyebrows. These people, though surrounded by Shans, Burmese and Chinese, are so totally different from either, that it is difficult to imagine from whence they have had their origin.” They are found to the north of Ba-mo, as far, apparently, as the Shu-mai kha, and amongst the Sing-pho hills between the Moug-khung and the valley of Hu-kong. From their generally retired locations and independent and predatory habits, they are probably older not only than the Shans, but than the Burmans and Sing-pho. They may be related to the

Ka-ren or Yu-ma family. The name is the same (*Ka-ren*, *Ka-yen* *Kh-yeng*), but as *ren*, *yen* is merely a generic name for man, no inference can be drawn from it.

The most widely disseminated Tibeto-Burman tribe in the north is the *Sing-pho*, who appear to have originally advanced into it from the west. They are found beyond the basin,—on the east within the Chinese boundary, and on the west within the British. The vallies of the eastern branch of the *Irawadi*—the *Shu-mai Kha*—are occupied by them. Those of the *Mi-li* or *Mi-ri* and upper *Kyen-dwen* are partly in their possession and partly in that of the *Shans*. The great valley of the upper *Kyen-dwen*, that of *Hu-kong*, and its borders is their chief seat. They do not extend continuously to the higher vallies of the *Mi-li*, where the *Khamti* have been settled for above six centuries. The *Sing-pho* are encroaching on them.

A western tributary of the *Mi-li*, the *Di-sang*, preserves a distinct but undescribed tribe, the *Nog-mun*.

To the N. and N. E. of the *Khamti* are the *Kha-nung* and beyond them, in the higher vallies of the barrier range, a savage tribe. There are said to be no passes leading across this range to the country of the *Mung-fan* to the eastward of the sources of the eastern tributary of the *Di-hong*—the outlet of the *Tsang-po* into the *Brahmaputra*.

The *Asam* range is occupied on its eastern or *Irawadi* extremity by the *Kha-nung*, the *Sing-pho*, the *Lau* tribe of *Khamti* and some petty undescribed tribes. On the *Brahmaputra* side the *Mi-jhu* march with them, and form one of the links between the northern and the southern *Asam* lines of tribes. On the north they march with the *Taying* who occupy the right side of the upper *Brahmaputra*, and beyond them the *Ne-du* on the *Di-bong*, the *Abor-Dophla* from the *Di-hong* to the northern *Dhunsiri*, and the *Changlo* of lower *Bhutan* (*Kariapara* to the *Manas*) continue the line along the valley till it merges in that of the *Ganges*.

The broad highland between the *Kyen-dwen* or *Tenui* and *Asam* is occupied by Tibeto-Burman tribes vaguely and collectively termed *Naga*. The number, the correct names and the range of the different tribes have not yet been fully ascertained.

The southern Dhunsiri and its eastern branch the Du-yong may be considered as dividing the northern or Asamese band into two great divisions. The western has been explored and described. The eastern is still very imperfectly known, and considerable portions of it have not been visited by Europeans.

The country of the Bor or Bori tribes marching with Asam and dependent on it has been described, but our information respecting the A-bor tribes behind is confined to what has been obtained from the Buri Nagas. Towards the Di-ko the A-bor tribes are dependent on the Bori, but more to the west they appear to be independent. The most easterly of these Bori tribes that have been described are the Nam-sang, the Muthun and Joboka, and the Mulung and Tablung. The Bor-Duor and Pani-Duor speak the Namsang dialect. The Muthun are also divided into three tribes, the Bor, Horu and Khulung. The Banfera and the Changnoi have the same dialect as the Joboka. The Nam-sang occupy the hills near the Di-kho to the westward of the preceding tribes, but they are also said to extend eastward to the sources of the Buri Di-hing. The precise range of the Muthun and Joboka tribes is not ascertained, but their hills lie east and north of Sibsagor. The Sima speak the Mulung dialect; and the Tablung is also that of the Jaktung Kongon, and Geleki-Duor. The Mulung and Tablung tribes inhabit the Tablung mountain and the hills in the neighbourhood of Sibsagor and Jorhat, which is their principal mart.

The Namsang march on the west with a distinct group of tribes, the more westerly and northerly of which occupy the Dopdor, Asuring and Hatigor dwars or passes. Their dialects separate them into three divisions,—the Tengsa and Dopdor; the Nogaung, Hatigor, Hai-mong and Asuring; and the Khari. The inner range of this group is probably somewhat to the S. W. of those previously mentioned, as its dialects are all connected with the northern division of the Manipuric group. The Khari are “a large and interesting tribe whose dress and general appearance are more respectable than any Mr Brown has elsewhere seen among the Nagas” (J. Am. Or. Soc. ii, 158). He says they descend on the plains near Jorhat. Their higher civilisation is a further indication of their Manipuric derivation; and their

language is so highly Manipuric that it is evident they have moved northward and either interrupt the proper Asamese band or form an alien element in it.

Still more to the west, between the De-sai and the Dhansiri, are the civilised and pacific tribes called Lotah or Latu by the Asamese. As no vocabulary of their dialect has been published it cannot be determined whether they belong to the Manipuric or to the Bodo-Namsang families.

The upper basins of the Du-yong and some of those of the Dhunsiri along the northern face of the dividing range, here called Burail, are occupied by the powerful and predatory Angami who long kept the Mikir and Arung villages of Northern Cachar in terror by their sudden, desolating and ferocious forays. On the eastern side they also carry on incessant war with the Latu Nagas. They are looked upon by the other tribes as intruders although their origin is unknown. Their dialects have some peculiarities, but are referable to the Manipuric group, although their highly elliptic and vocalic phonology disguises the affinity. They have a special agreement with the Koreng. It is probable that they are a colony from the southern side of the range. They and the adjacent tribe of Kutchá Nagas now have about 100 villages and their total number is reckoned at 100,000. The paramount villages are the Mo-zu-mah, Jop-she-mah, Kona-mah and Ko-hi-mah (J. B. As. Soc. 1855, p. 650).

To the east of the Angami, but separated from them by a tract left waste, are another Naga tribe called A-rung, numbering about 7,500, whose villages are scattered over some portions of North Cachar amongst those of the Mikir and Cachari. Their dialect has a strong resemblance to the Ko-reng and must be considered as a member of the northern group of Manipuri, to which it adheres much more closely than the Angami.

On the southern slopes of the Burail, in the upper basins of the Barak and the Manipur river, are the Ma-ram, the most important tribe of the north division of the Manipuric. To the west of them are the Ko-reng and beyond them the Ka-pwi and Song-pu. On the eastern side of the valley of Manipur the Ma-ram are succeeded by the Cham-phung, Lu-hu-pa and Tang-khul (North, Central and South). To the south-west of them

are the Khoi-bu and Ma-ring, while the valley itself is occupied by the Manipuri. These tribes are classed by their dialects into three divisions. 1st, the Ma-ram, Ko-reng and Song-pu, with which the outlying A-rung, the Angami with its special Ko-reng affinities, and the Khari group are associated. This division has peculiar and archaic relations with the northern band—Kasia, Bodo, Garo, Mikir, Nam-sang, Sing-pho. 2nd, the eastern—Cham-phung, Lu-hu-pa, N. and C. Tang-khul. 3rd, the S. Tang-khul (and to a certain extent the C. Tang-khul), the Khoi-bu, Ma-ring, Manipuri and Kapwi. This last group is closely connected with the Ku-ki and Bong-ju which are intermediate between it and the proper Yuma dialects.

Returning to the Asam side, the Mikir are scattered over the country from the Burail to the banks of the Brahmaputra. In Cachar they are mixed with the Cachari and A-rung. To the north of the river Jamuna they occupy a large tract in the Now-gong district called the Mikir hills, and many families are also found all over the southern side of Lower Asam as far as Gowhati, the hills to the east of which are chiefly inhabited by them. The Mikir are said to have been originally located in the eastern part of N. Cachar, known as Tularam's country. On their conquest by the Cachari they fled westward to Jynteah and took refuge with the Kasias. At a later period the oppression exercised by that people forced them to migrate again, when they came into their present abodes. They are civilised, unwarlike, wear the dress of the Kasia, and have other marks of connection with them. Their dialect has some archaic forms peculiar to it. Its general affinities are with the Asam band, Bodo-Sing-pho, but it has also specific glossarial affinities with Yuma and Manipuri dialects; it shares in many of their affinities with Abor, Dophla, and Lepcha, and it has some of its own. It has also some Kasia and Dhimal forms, and, like the other Yuma and Brahmaputran dialects, it has archaic Lau affinities. From the general character of the vocabulary it must be of great antiquity in its present position, that is, as a western member of the Asamese band.

Partially intermixed with the Mikir in north Cachar are the dominant Cachari, a branch of the Bodo. The Bodo were a one time the most powerful and widely spread of all these tribes.

They were long in possession of upper Asam, and according to their own traditions subjugated Kamrup and extended their sway over all Asam, Cachar, the Barak valley and Tipperah, nearly four centuries before the Ahom invasion. The circumstance of most of the rivers of upper Asam retaining the Cachari Bodo word for *water* and *river* *di water*, (*di-bu* a large river, *di-sa* a small one), as a prefix now incorporated with the name, corroborates the tradition.* In Cachar the hill Bodo are an industrious and courageous people, held in respect by all the neighbouring tribes and able to set at defiance the Angami who prey on all the others.

On the west the Cachari march with the Khyi or Kasia of Jyntea. The Kasia appear to be the oldest of the occupants of the Asam chain. Their dialect has a considerable portion of Mon-Anam and N. E. Dravidian words, including pronouns, although it is now mainly Tibeto-Burman. The Tibeto-Burman words have frequently archaic forms. Its connection on this side is chiefly with the north Manipuric or Maram group and with the Bodo-Sing-pho. It may be inferred that the Kasia were originally a remnant of the Mon-Anam tribes of Bengal and Asam, and that although partially modified by the first or Abor-Yuma movement of the Tibeto-Burmans to the southward, they have been longest and most intimately connected with the Bodo-Sing-pho tribes.

To the north and northwest of the Kasia are the Garo, one of the Bodo-Sing-pho band, who occupy the N.W. extremity of the Asam range. The Garo dialect is closely connected with the Bodo, but it has also affinities of its own with distant members of group. For example it often agrees with Namsang or Sing-pho where Bodo does not. This is one of the proofs that the community of forms found in this group is attributable to more archaic movements than that which carried the Bodo into North Asam.

Perpetual aggressions, and frequent conquests, extirpations of villages, and migrations, mark the modern history of nearly all these Tibeto-Burman tribes, and of the different clans of the same tribe. Their normal condition and relations, while extremely favorable to the maintenance of a minute division of communities and dialects, are opposed to any long preservation of their

* Di-hong, Di-bong, Di-k-rang, Ti-ding, Di-hing, Di-sang, Di-kho, Di-ung, Di-sai &c.

peculiarities. Weak tribes when not destroyed are modified in habits and language by the more powerful ones who spread over their districts. Conquest or flight cause migrations which bring distant dialects together and lead to both being spoken in the same limited tract, whenever one tribe submits to the other, or amicable relations are established between them. Both advancing and retreating tribes alter the distribution and mutual action of dialects. The same people that is exterminated or helotised in its native seat, sometimes, through a fugitive swarm, establishes itself as a conquering tribe in a distant locality. Each fresh change in the influences to which a dialect is subjected carries it farther from its original form, and increases its alienation from dialects with which it was once identical. All the causes which produce a subdivision of dialects are now in operation in the Asamese band, and when the absence of populous and civilised nations like the Bengali and Burman allowed the Himalaic tribes greater scope for their migrations, these causes must have been more powerful. In recent ages we have seen the Lau settling in the lands of the Sing-pho, the Bodo, the Burmans, the Peguans, the Kambojans and the Malays, and originating communities having no connection with each other,—the Sing-pho, at a later period, forcing their way from Burmah into Asam,—the Bodo occupying the country of the Mikir, and the A-rung, Angami and Kuki intruding on both. We have also found the same tribe separating into clans and villages, permanently at war with each other—Kuki fleeing from Kuki, Sing-pho from Sing-pho, Abor from Abor. We can thus understand how in such a country and before the Arians filled the plains, the lapse of a few centuries would transform a colony from a barbarous Si-fan clan, descending the Himalaya by a single pass, into a dozen scattered tribes, speaking as many dialects and no longer recognizing their common descent.

THE SING-PHO.*

Locality and numbers. This tribe is spread over a large portion of the upper basin of the Irawadi, and they also occupy an adjacent tract on the left or southern side of the Brahmaputra. Their range appears to comprise about three degrees of lat. (25° to 28° N.) and three degrees of long. (96° to 99° E.) thus bringing the extreme western communities under the British rule and the extreme eastern under the Chinese, while the mass are within the Burmese boundary.

In the Brahmaputra basin at the head of the valley they are in possession of the country, partly undulating and partly hilly, that stretches from the river to the dividing range—here called the Lang-tang and Pat-koi mountains—between it and the western tributaries of the Irawadi. On the east they extend to the Lang-tang mountains on the south of the higher stream of the Brahmaputra, the vallies of which are the abodes of the Mi-jhu. On the west they do not spread beyond a line running south from the mouth of the Noa Di-hing to the foot of the Pat-koi mountains which drain northward into the Bori Di-hing and form their southern boundary. They are chiefly placed along the vallies of the Noa Di-hing and of the Tenga Pani, marching with the Moa-maria on the west, and with the Mi-jhu on the north east, the Khamti of Asam occupying the valley on the opposite side of the river. Their number in the Brahmaputra basin is estimated at six thousand.

Beyond the watershed they are widely spread to the east and south over the upper Irawadi, occupying, so far as has been ascertained, the more mountainous parts of the basins of the western branch—the Nam-kiu of the Shans, Mi-li of the Sing-pho—and of the eastern branch—the Shu-mai of the Burmans—up to the foot of the high range of mountains which separates the latter from the Lu

* Sources of Information.

1. JOHN BRYAN NEUFVILLE. "On the Geography and Population of Asam". Asiatic Researches xvi., 331 (1823); re-printed in "Selections from the Records of the Bengal government No. 23."
2. R. WILCOX. "Survey of Asam and the neighbouring countries, executed in 1825-6-7-8". As. Res. xvii., 314 (1832); reprinted in the Bengal Selections No. 23.
3. WILLIAM ROBINSON. "A Descriptive Account of Asam" (1841).
4. Topography of Asam by M'Cosh, cited by Robinson.

or Nu-kiang,—the name given to the Sa-luen by the Chinese where it borders and then flows through Yun-nan. They are also found to the westward of the lower half of the Mi-li in the upper basins of the Kyen-dwen and of the Mung-khung, which enters the main stream below the junction of the Mi-li and the Shu-mai. The large valley of Hu-kong on the Kyen-dwen is now occupied by them, the greater number of the Shans, who at one time exclusively possessed it, having retired into the remoter lateral vallies and glens to avoid the exactions of the Burmese officers.*

Our information respecting the range of the Sing-Pho on the Irawadi side of the mountains is very defective, European exploration not having extended beyond the right bank of the Mi-li, the Mung-Khung and the upper valley of the Khyen-dwen. In 1828 Captain Wilcox crossed the pass at the head of the Noa Di-hing and descended on the Mi-li by the vallies of the Phu-ngan and Nam-sai, both of which have their sources in the Phu-ngan bhum, and, after parallel courses to the S. E., fall into the Nam Lang. The summit was covered with patches of snow in May. The moist climate produces a thick growth of moss clothed forest trees, of bamboos, plantains and tall nettles, and overlays the soil with a bed of moss and rotten leaves. Throughout the descent to the Nam Lang only one ruined village was found, that of A-Leth, formerly belonging to Mi-jhu, who were induced by the Sing-Pho to desert it. The Nam Lang is at first 30 or 40 yards broad and runs between low hills, with a slow and smooth current and an occasional rapid. Lower, plains commence which are cultivated by the Khamti, the Kha Phok and the Mu

Nearly all the facts mentioned by Mr Robinson and much of his language agree with Captain Neufville's and as he does not cite him and gives nothing new from M'Cosh, the latter would appear to follow Neufville.

5. S. F. HANNAY: "Abstract of the journal of a Route travelled by Captain Hannay from Ava to the Hukong valley" by Captain R. B. Pemberton, J. A. S. for 1837, p. 245.

6. Sketch of Asam.

7. N. BROWN. Voc. in "Comparison of Indo-Chinese languages" J. As. Soc. 1837, p. 1023.

8. W. ROBINSON and M. BRONSON "Grammatical notices of Sing-pho" J. A. S. xviii. (1849) 318, Voc. 342.

9. N. BRONSON, Voc. in M. Hodgson's series, J. A. S. xviii. (Part II.) 969.

10. Remarks in "Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands." Part II, ch. iv. sec. 2.

* Hannay 270.

Luk, a broken tribe of the Di-hing who were plundered and enslaved by the Sing-Pho, a portion fleeing across the pass and finding refuge among the Khamti. The Mi-li, in this portion of its course, is about 80 yards broad, and fordable when not swollen by floods. On the north the mountains that terminate the basin of the Irawadi stretch like an immense wall from west to east, while at each extremity numerous peaks, varying greatly in their distance, appear crowded irregularly together. The climate of the plain, which is 1855 feet above the sea level, is similar to that of the highest part of the valley of Asam. From about the middle of October to February the weather is dry and clear. Heavy rains fall from the middle of June to the middle of September. In May the thermometer was from 72° to 78° in the morning, and from 84° to 94° in the hottest hours of the day. The river as far as Ba-mo is only navigable for small canoes.

The Khamti are now isolated, being separated from the Shans by broad tracts occupied only by Sing-Pho. Their power appears to have declined in proportion as the Sing-Pho have pressed westward. They fear and hate them, and the mutual hostilities appear to be seldom interrupted for a long period. A short time before Wilcox visited them their ancient capital of Muang Khamti had been lost. But they continue to defy the Burmans, and never pay them any tribute unless the demand is supported by a large force. When Captain Hannay visited Hu-kong in 1837 he was informed that the last attempt to exact it had been made three years previously by an officer accompanied by a thousand Burmans. The greater part of the force was destroyed by the Khamtis, and the reception the Burmans met has filled them with so much dread of this division of the Shans, that they are not likely to invade them again.

The labouring class in the Khamti country is chiefly composed of Kha-Phok, who appear to be simply the ancient Sing-Pho population of the district. The Khamti say that when they first entered the country as conquerors they found it occupied by Lamas (Bhotians) and the Kha-Phok tribe. The dialect of the latter, according to Wilcox, is closely allied to the Sing-Pho, "yet sufficiently different to cause embarrassment to both parties in holding converse." Kha is the Lau word for serf, applied

contemptuously to alien tribes. Phok, pho is the Sing-Pho name for man, whence their appellation *sing-pho*. The dialect of the western tribe may have differed from that of the eastern before the entrance of the Khamti,—but, even if it did not, six centuries of separation and subjection to the influence of a foreign tongue spoken by a dominant people, would be sufficient to produce a divergency of dialect such as that described. There are two other cognate tribes on the Mi-li,—the Kha Lang on the Nam Lang, and the Nog-mun on the Nam Di-sang*. The Kha Nung who inhabit the mountains on the N. E. and E., speak a distinct language. The medium of mutual intercourse between all the tribes is the Khamti†.

Mr Brown mentions the Jili as a small tribe, now nearly extinct, who formerly occupied the highlands in the northern part of Burmah, but have been driven from their country by the Sing-Pho. The language is nearly identical with that of the Sing-Pho but older, and they are probably one of the servile tribes of this people.

The only European account of any portions of the southern Sing-pho country is that furnished in Captain Hannay's journal of his route from Ava to the valley of Hu-kung. At Ba-mo he found Sing-pho traders from within the Chinese boundary. A-kouk toun, a small hamlet on the Moung-khung river, was inhabited by Phwons, Shans and some Lo-phai Sing-phos with their chief who had retired there from his own country in the north, in consequence of a feud with some of his neighbours. Moung-Khung or Mo-gaung is inhabited by Shans, Burmans, Phwons, Asamese and about fifty Chinese. The vallies of the surrounding hills are occupied by Sing-Pho and Ka-Khyen, and the Shans of the town are employed by the Burman officers to enforce the collection of tribute from them. The Burmans are

* It is remarkable that this is a Bodo generic name for "a small river," with the Khamti name for river *nam* preposed as in other cases. Did the Bodo push their conquests at one time from Upper Asam into the basin of the Mi-li? Has the Nog Mun dialect any special Bodo ingredient? The Nam-sang Naga derive their name from the same river.

† Siamese appears to be by far the most widely spoken language of Ultraindia. It was at one time the *lingua franca* of Kidah almost as much as the Malay, and even the wandering negroid tribe of the jungle—the Simang—spoke it in some places. At the opposite extremity of Ultraindia it was current in Asam and Yun-nan.

hated and contemned by both Shans and Sing-Pho, and their authority is disregarded when it is not supported by a large military force. Tribute can only be exacted from the Sing-Pho of Hu-kong, as from the Khamti, by this means. The route across the hills between the Moung-khung and the Kyen-dwen at Hu-kong passess over damp soil, amongst magnificent trees and a rank vegetation of shrubs, including the tea plant. The valley of Hu-kong or Pa-yen-dwen runs north-west for about 50 miles, and varies in breadth from 45 to 15 miles. The population of this valley and of the lateral ones, with the exception of the single Shan village of Mein-khwon, consists entirely of Sing-Pho and their Asamese slaves. The greater part of the Sing-Pho belong to the M-rip and Ti-san clans. The other and more recent section are Lo-phai. The valley was occupied by Shans until the invasion of Asam by the Burmans. The exactions of the Burmans, the retirement of the Shans to the remoter vallies, and the standing enmity between the Bisa and the Dafa, produce general anarchy and constant feuds. The routes by which communication is maintained with the surrounding countries are one leading E. across the Shue-doung-gyi range to the eastern Sing-Pho,—a second N. E. to Mung Lang the capital of the Khamti,—and a third S. E., leading directly to China and frequently followed by the poorer Chinese in preference to the circuitous one by Ba-mo and Mo-gaung.

It was stated to Captain Hannay that the Sing-Pho were very numerous on the north and east sides of the valley, the number of houses being estimated at three thousand. All the low hills along the western foot of the Shue doung range were under cultivation; and the population in this quarter, from the Kyen-dwen to the Irawadi, can furnish a force of nine to ten thousand armed men. The influence of the Dafa Gaum chief is said to extend to the borders of China.

The Sing-Pho to the east of the Mi-li and their country are only known from the accounts furnished by the western Sing-pho. The Shu-mai kha—also named Sin-mai kha and Pong-mai—is described as a larger river than the Mi-li. Captain Neufville was informed that the tribes between the two are the Kha Ku, and those

to the S. E. of the Shu-mai, the Lo-phai who border on Yun-nan and visit it. In Captain Hannay's map the May-rung Sing-Pho are placed along a tributary of the Mi-li parallel to the Shu-mai, and the Lu-tong Sing-Pho in the intermediate country. The seat of the Pan-wa Lo-phai is marked to the westward of the junction of the Shu-mai and Mi-li.

The most eastern Sing-Pho are located within the Chinese boundary. They assimilate to the Chinese in dress and speak their language.

The range of the Sing-Pho brings them into relation with several tribes besides the dominant Burmans. On the east they have intercourse with the Chinese—and probably also with the Lau—of Yun-nan. One of Lieut. Wilcox's guides was a Kha-Ku who had resided for some years in Yun-nan. With the Shan Lau they must be intimately connected along their southern boundary, where their vallies interlock those of the Shans. In the west the Khamti meet them both on the Mi-li and on the Brahmaputra. On their N. W. boundary they march with the Mi-jhu, but as they are on the opposite sides of the high and bleak mountains that divide the Mi-li from the Brahmaputra and the upper Di-hing from the main stream of the latter, the intercourse between them must be restricted. The Mi-jhu visit them for traffic by a pass leading from the La thi, an affluent of the Brahmaputra, to the Nam Siya, the principal or northern branch of the Nam Lang. By this agency the Sing-Pho partake in the advantages of the traffic with eastern Tibet which is in the hands of the Mi-jhu and Ta-ying Mi-shmi,—a pass existing between the upper Brahmaputra and Tibet. On the west the Sing-Pho are now in contact with the Asamese. Our information does not throw any light on their existing relations to the Naga tribes towards the head of the Kyen-dwen. The whole country indeed from the Buri Naga dwars of Asam to the valley of the Khyen-dwen, and from the Du-yang nearly to the Nam-rup is a *terra incognita*. But the relationship of the Sing-Pho dialect to the Namsang and the adjacent dialects makes it probable that the intermediate population are Sing-Pho on one side of the dividing range and Nagas allied to the Namsang, Muthun and Mulung on

the other. How far the eastern range of the Maram and the Angami extends towards the Khyen-dwen is unknown.

According to Wilcox no pass leads from the upper Irawadi over the snow capped mountain wall that separates its sources from those of the eastern tributaries of the Tsang-po, and they have no direct intercourse with the Bhotians or with any Si-fan tribe. He mentions, however, as we have seen, that the Khamti of the Mi-li found Lamas as well as Kha-Phok on it when they first arrived early in the 13th century. The Kha-Mung "inhabit the mountains to the N. E. and E." of the Khamti, and have not yet been visited by Europeans. It is possible that they, like the Mi-shmi, are in communication with eastern Bhotians or Si-fan, or were so at an earlier period. The arts of the Kha-Nung are superior to those of the Khamti and Sing-Pho. They supply them with salt and thin iron dhas, the latter forming the currency of the district. They also extract silver from galena, the process being a mystery to the Khamti. The superior knowledge of the Kha-Nung suggests the presence of a higher civilisation than that of the Sing-Pho at some period prior to the arrival of the Lau, and as the "Lamas" still visit the Mi-shmi it does not seem improbable that a small colony may at one time have flourished on the Mi-li. Wilcox finds it "difficult to imagine that, if intercourse ever existed with Tibet, it should have been entirely dropped, or that the barbarian Mi-shmis should ever have been suffered to become the only channel of communication with the parent country." But it seems quite possible that a route once open to the Kha-Nung may have been afterwards occupied by the Mi-shmi. The more barbarous hill tribes are in many other parts of the province in possession of the passes between the plains. From the position of the Kha-Nung, however, to the east and north-east of the Khamti country, they must be nearer the Nu-kiang valley than that of the Tsang-po, and there are strong grounds for the opinion that they extend to the Nu-kiang and are still in contact with the Lamas of South Eastern Tibet, who, in about the same latitude, almost join the Chinese of the most northern part of Yun-nan (Du Halde i, 263). In Hu-kong Captain Hannay was told that the silver which the Khamti procure from the Kha-Nung is found in a mine "said to be situated on the

northern side of the mountains to the north east of Khamti" in a country called Mung-fan. "All the information Captain Han-nay could obtain led him to suppose that this mine was worked by people subject to China, and from the description given, he thinks they are Lamas or people of Tibet". The Mong-fan, according to Du Halde, are *Tartar* Lamas, who occupy a large territory north of Li kiang tu fu, between the Kin cha kiang and the Vu leang ho. U San Guei who was made chief of Yun-nan by the Manchus after their conquest of China in 1644, gave the Mong this district to engage them to his interests and thus secure the attachment of all the Lamas of Tibet. They are the richest and most considerable of all the Tartar Lamas of that country. Li kiang fu is close to the northern boundary of Yun-nan and in D'Anville's map a tract at the junction of the two rivers is marked as Mong-fan and has the Yun-nan boundary drawn round it. This section of the Mong cannot be in communication with the the Kha-Nung as they are nearly in the same latitude and to the east not only of the Shu-mai but of the Lu-kiang, Kiu-lung-kiang and Kiu-cha-kiang and the mountains between them. But the district in question may be merely an addition to their older territory, which may lie west of the Kin-cha in S. E. Tibet. From the name it may be inferred that the Mong are Mongols like the other Tartars of eastern Tibet. The present country of the Si-fan is described by the Chinese as lying between the Hoang-ho on the north, the Ya-long on the west and the Yang-tse-kiang on the east, and principally on the banks of the Ya-long—the cradle of the Tibetan race in local tradition—from which at one period their sway extended eastward over several tracts now included in the provinces of Sze-chuen and Chen-si. It would appear that they are to the north of the Mong-fan.

The Kokonor Tartars or Mongols who wander along the western borders of Sze-chuen, are separated, according to Du Halde's Chinese authorities, from "the kingdom of Pegu and Ava" by "dreadful and inaccessible mountains inhabited by nations scarcely known and who by the report of the Chinese of Yun-nan, who are their neighbours, are very savage, without any government or laws. That which is most northern and which borders on the Tartars of Kokonor is called Nu y; and the most southern,

beyond the kingdom of Ava in $25^{\circ} 33'$, is called Li se upon the limits of Yun chang fu" (Du Haldei, 58). In another place he says "the Chinese maps (which the geographical missionaries found in the Tribunal of the province of Yun-nan in the house of the chief mandarins) as well as the people of the country, give the name Nu y to the people who lie beyond the river Nu kiang; and those who are contiguous to the north boundaries of the kingdom of Ava they call Lisse" (ib. iv, 464). The kingdom of Laos is called Lao chu or Lao se, chu being probably chow applied to towns of the second order and se from tu-size smaller towns or stations. The position of the Li is fixed by the latitude and the reference to the Yun-nan city of Yun chang, as being within the Sing-pho range, and as the name is found in that of the *Ji-li*, of the clan of *Mi-rip* and of the river *Mi-li*, it is probable that the eastern Sing-phos who first came under the observation of the Chinese were known as the Li.

The position assigned to the Nu y is very vague. The name appears to be the same as that of the Nu river. If the Nung are really in contact with the Mong-fan they fulfil the two conditions of being beyond the Nu-kiang and on the borders of the Tartars, while the name is nearly the same. The head of the eastern branch of the *Mi-li*, the *Di-sang*, must approach within about twenty miles of the valley of the Nu-kiang, if the latter is correctly laid down in the maps, and there may be passes between them of which the knowledge is confined to the Kha Nung. As the names of the people and of the river are the same, the Irawadi Nung, if identical with the Nu y, may be merely a branch of the main Tibetan tribe on the Nu kiang. The circumstance of their language being different both from the Khamti and from all the Sing-Pho dialects, adds to the probability of their being so well separated ethnically from the other north Irawadi tribes as to be recognised by the Chinese as a distinct people. That the geographical knowledge of Captain Hannay's authorities—the inhabitants of Hu-kong, should be more extensive and accurate than that of Captain Wilcox's—the Khamti, is to be expected from the large number of traders from Yun-nan who annually resort to Hu-kong. The Chinese of northern Yun-nan border the eastern Tibetans on two sides, and must be well acquainted with their Mong-fan

neighbours in particular. Huc found them settled in eastern Tibet beyond the Kin cha Kiang, in the valley of Kiang-tsa, where they are said to amass fortunes in a few years. In the great plain of Ba-thang he observed among the population a very great number of Chinese who are engaged in various arts and trades.*

The following details are chiefly drawn from the accounts of the Brahmaputran Sing-Pho, but from all the notices we have of their brethren on the Irawadi with whom they maintain an intercourse, it would appear that there is little difference between them. Indeed the period that has elapsed since they appeared in Asam is too short to allow of any marked divergence having taken place.

Physical and Mental Character. The Sing-Pho have not been minutely described, probably because they are of the common Burman type. They have the long trunk and short legs of the race, and their colour is tawny. Individually and socially we only know them in Asam as being indolent, fickle and so improvident that, although possessed of a fertile portion of the province and in the vicinity of markets, they do not produce enough of the materials of food to place themselves above want. Nationally they are rapacious, cruel, revengeful, crafty and treacherous, like all the other tribes of the race, including the Burmans, and, it may be added, like most other barbarous or semi-civilised peoples. Humanity, when men act in masses or possessed of unrestrained power, is one of the last virtues to be developed. The Burmans and Siamese, although professing the most ultra humane of all creeds, are as ferocious in war as the most savage Kuki or Naga, and the Chinese with all their literary and artistic culture are not less diabolically cruel. The Sing-Pho no doubt have their good qualities equally with their neighbours. In Hu-kong they made a most favorable impression on Captain Hannay, while the cha-

* Huc's route from Lha-sa to Sze-chuen was too far north to bring him in contact with the Tibetan tribes bordering on Yun-nan and Burmah. He crossed the Nu-kiang—the Suk chu of the Bhotians—at Kia-Yu-Kioo, and the two upper branches of the Kiu-lung (not the Ya long as he supposed) at Tsiam-do. After passing the Kin-cha four days to the eastward of Tsiam-do, the Si-fan country appears to be entered. The manners, customs, costume and even the language of the tribes undergo modification. Huc remarked that “the language is no longer the pure Tibetan that is spoken at Lhasa and in the province of Kham; it is a dialect closely connected with the idiom of the Si-fan and in which you remark various Chinese expressions. The Tibetans of Lha-sa who accompanied us had the greatest difficulty in the world in understanding and being understood.”

racter and manners of the Nagas have elicited a very different testimony from the British officers in Asam.

Spiritualism. Buddhism has been adopted from the Shans, and temples and priests, deodhi, are found in all the principal villages. Their native faith recognizes a deity of the elements, of clouds and stones, Megh Deota or Ning-schis (*ning-Schis*) to whom they sacrifice buffaloes, hogs and cocks in times of trouble. The skulls of the sacrificial buffaloes are afterwards hung up in their houses. They also sacrifice to hostile Sing-Phos killed in feuds; and when one of their own clan dies by violence of any kind a buffalo is offered up and the head fastened in the centre of a large wooden cross. This ceremony is omitted when the death is natural, the gods requiring no propitiation for their own act.

The *Dress, Food, Houses and Arts* of the Asamese Sing-Pho are not described by Neufville or Wilcox. But from the short period that has passed since they left the Khyen-dwen they cannot differ much from those of the eastern tribes who assimilate in these respects to their more advanced neighbours. In their principal seat on the Khyen-dwen, the Hu-kong valley, the dress is similar to that of the Shans and Burmans of Mo-gaung. But the men frequently have jackets of red camlet or of different velvets ornamented with buttons. A broad cloth shawl is also worn by the wealthier. The women wear the *tha-mine*, but disposed around their persons much more modestly than in the Burman fashion, being fuller and fastened at the waist with a band. Their jackets are neat and of a dark and coarse cotton cloth. Their ornaments are ear-rings of amber, bracelets of silver, and necklaces of the yellowish coral-like beads which are so highly prized by the northern Ultraindian tribes and the art of making which appears to be lost. Among the Sing-Pho they are sold for their weight in gold. The men and the married women have the hair tied up on the crown of the head. The younger women confine it with silver pins at the back of the neck. All the females wear white muslin turbans.

Their arms are *dhas*, (short swords with square ends), spears, cross bows and oblong wooden shields. The quivers, swords, and shields resemble those of Indonesian tribes.

The common articles of food are rice, pork and fowls. They are much addicted to opium. In the houses of the Asamese Sing-Pho cups and saucers, plates, basins, knives and needles of foreign manufacture are in use.

The Sing-Pho have the long houses of some other Tibeto-Burman tribes—the Mi-shmi, Bong-ju, Ku-ki, Karens of Siam, the Mi-ri chiefs &c. and of some of the cognate Indonesian tribes. Those of the Sing-Pho are occupied by several families and are sometimes 100 feet long. They are made of split bamboo and grass roofs. The floor is about 4 feet above the ground. The timber used for the houses of the chiefs is of enormous size.

Rice appears to be the chief product of their fields.

The Hu-kong Sing-Pho have a considerable source of wealth in their amber and serpentine mines. The valley also furnishes salt in abundance. The Nam Fwon-kok and E-di are quite brackish from the numerous salt springs in their beds. The alluvium on the banks of the rivers yields gold. The only important trade of the valley is the sale of the amber for which it is celebrated, to a small number of Chinese, Shans and Sing-Pho who come annually from Yun-nan. A few Burmans of Yo bring native cloth and British piece goods, but the supplies of these articles are chiefly brought by Sing-Pho from Mo-gaung. The Sing-Pho also carry gold dust, ivory and a little silver to Asam, bringing in return muskets, cloths, spirits and opium. The amber is procured from the Payen tounge or “amber hills” a tract of small hillocks the highest not exceeding 50 feet. Pits about 3 feet square are dug from 6 to 15 feet deep with no better tools than a piece of bamboo sharpened at one end and a small wooden shovel. The soil is a reddish and yellow clay, which when first opened has a fine aromatic smell but afterwards acquires that of coal tar. The serpentine is found 8 or 9 miles to the north of a large lake, the Eng-dan-gyi, over a hilly country of 18 or 20 miles in length. At particular seasons about a thousand men—Burmans, Shans,

* The prices of British piece goods from Ava at the time of Captain Hannay's visit were for common book-muslin used as head dresses, 14 rupees a piece; coarse broad cloth worn as shawls 2½ yards long, 18 rupees; good cotton handkerchiefs 2 rupees each; coarse ones 1½ rupees. The common or mixed amber is sold at 2½ ticals a vis or 4 rupees for 1½ seers. The best kind and what is fit for ornaments is expensive, the price varying according to the colour and transparency:

Chinese-Shans and Sing-Pho, are at work in the serpentine mines.

The labour, both in the house and afield, falls chiefly to the slaves and the women.

Literature. Of this nothing is known. The Shan characters are used.

The *Family* institutions and habits are described very meagerly. Polygamy prevails, without any limitation but what arises from the inclination and the means of the husband. A man may marry his stepmother or his brother's widow, as among the Mongols. A marriage ceremony is performed by the *deodhi* or priest. Chastity before marriage is not required, the Tibeto-Burman and the cognate Indonesian tribes permitting great license in this respect to both sexes. When an unmarried woman becomes a mother the father must present her parents with three slaves and a buffalo. Adulterers are fined.

The children are all on an equal footing and no distinction is made between those of Sing-Pho and those of Asamese mothers. The rule of inheritance is remarkable. The land and, in the case of a chief, the title, descend to the eldest son. The youngest son takes all the moveable property. The other children receive nothing, but remain with the new chief.

The dead are buried or burned. When the deceased is a chief, all the relatives however distant claim the right of attending at the burial. To omit giving notice of the death to any would be considered by them as a deadly insult. To give time for the news being conveyed to all, the body is removed to a spot apart from the village and left for two or more years till decomposition is completed. It is then placed in a coffin and brought back to the house where it is surrounded by the insignia of the chief. When the relatives have all repaired to the village or replies have been received from those who cannot attend, the interment takes place. A mound of earth is raised over the grave and enclosed by a monument consisting of a succession of large cylinders of bambu matting, each smaller in diameter than the one below it. A pole rises from the top supporting an ornamental canopy.

Social and National usages. The Sing-Pho are divided into twelve clans or *gaums* each under a chief or *ghai* with a hereditary name - Bisa, Dafa, Satu, Latora &c. These clan names were

brought by the Asamese colonists from the Irawadi and are also applied to the principal village of each clan. They form a very loose confederation, each acting as independently and selfishly as its comparative strength permits, and a general concert rarely prevailing unless for some common object of rapacity. The chiefs are all held to be of equal rank and authority. There are some social distinctions of class or caste irrespective of clanship. The most general is into Sing-Pho proper and Kha-Ku. The latter are an inferior but not a servile class. Each clan has a proportion of both. A valley on the Tenga pani is said to be exclusively occupied by Kha-Ku, and to be very populous and highly cultivated. Another division of the Asam Sing-Pho into The-ngai or Shangai, Ma-yang, Lu-brang and Mi-rip is also mentioned but not explained.

As the M-rip or Mi-rip are one of the Irawadi divisions and as another, the Te-san, includes both Bisa and Dafa, it is probable that these larger appellations are those of distinct tribes, or that they are the proper clan or family names and the gaum the political associations or states. The preservation of a few clan names is common to the Chinese with many Himalaic peoples. On the Irawadi besides the Mi-rip, there are Te-sang or Ti-san (? Sangai of Asam), May-sung (? Ma-yang of Asam), Lu-tong and Lo-phai or La-phai. The name of the Ti-sang is the same as that of the eastern upper branch of the Mi-li, and the name of the Mi-rip resembles that of the Mi-li or Mi-ri. This would seem to indicate that those were the names of the larger divisions or tribes located on different rivers.

In Asam the Sing-Pho are rapacious conquerors, who have reduced a portion of the natives to serfdom and thrown on them the ordinary labour of their villages. In their native country they have the institution of slave-debtors so well known amongst the Burmans and the cognate Himalaic tribes of the Indian Archipelago. The servitor, called gum lao, either as the return for his own support or as the purchase money for a wife, binds himself, temporarily or for life, to a family. He becomes a servile but not degraded member of it, performing domestic and field labour.

The different Asam clans, besides harassing, plundering and enslaving their neighbours so long as they could do so with impunity

ty, were frequently at war with each other. A deadly and obstinate feud long prevailed between Bisa Gaum and Dafa Gaum into which the other Asamese clans and even those of the Irawadi were drawn. In proportion as the British power has been more energetically exerted in the north of Asam, the Sing-Pho have felt the necessity of abandoning their bloodthirsty and predatory practices. The enforced release of the Asamese whom they had carried into slavery and the chastisement which followed their later forays has thrown them on their own labour, and again called forth their native industry.

History. The first Sing-Pho irruptions into upper Assam occurred about seventy years ago. At that time the vallies of the Noa Di-hing and Tenga pani were occupied by Khamti and Muluk, the latter then an independent people possessed of the plains of Hu-pong on the Di-hing to the south of the Phu-ngan pass. The Sing-Pho carried havoc throughout the vallies and the remnant of the Khamti fled to Sadiya where their tribe had become predominant. The Sing-Pho formed an alliance with their new neighbours the Moamaria, and from the Di-hing ravaged the plain of Asam, laying it waste with fire and sword as far as Jorhath, and carrying off plunder and large numbers of captives as slaves, some of whom they retained while others were sold to the Khamti, Shans and the more distant Sing-Pho. Their savage raids were only put a stop to by the advance of the British boundary to the head of Asam. The last engagements on the expulsion of the Burmese in 1823, took place at Bisa Gaum and Dafa Gaum which were occupied by about 600 Burmans and 400 Sing-Phos. They were dislodged by Lieutenants Neufville and Kerr and the Asamese Sing-Pho were thenceforth dependents of the British rule. The Bisa clan was located at the foot of the pass leading over the Pat koi range into the valley of Hu-kong. A feud had long prevailed between this clan and the Dafa, the chief of which resides on the Burman side of the pass. In 1835 the Dafa crossed the mountains, ravaged the village of the Bisa and slaughtered all the inhabitants who fell into their hands. The British Indian Government called on the King of Burmah to inquire into this foray and give security against any repetition of it. A Burmese deputation from Ava, accompanied by Captain Hannay

on the part of the British, proceeded to Hu-kong, and after an investigation an oath to keep the peace in future was administered to the Dafa and other chiefs on the frontier.

According to their own traditions, which are largely colored by fable, their original abode was between the Khamti and the borders of China, on a plain at the top of a mountain called Mu-jai sang-ra bhum. At the foot of the mountain a stream, the Sri Lohit,* flowed southward to the Irawadi. The description is obviously a mythical one of the Sing-pho country on the Shu-mai kha or one of the eastern affluents of the Irawadi, the name of the river being taken from that of the Brahmaputra and the lofty mountain being not only Burman and Indian but common to nearly all ethnic legends of the kind. While they remained on this sacred mountain they were immortal, holding intercourse with the planets and worshipping one supreme being. Twenty one generations ago they descended to the plains and being compelled to shed the blood of men and animals in self defence and for subsistence became ordinary mortals and adopted the superstitions of their neighbours. They migrated from east to west, and first established themselves in the plain of Kun-du-yung on a branch of the Sri Lohit. They then went to the hills called Nang-brangbuk S. E. of Hu-kung and east of Ba-mo, four or five days journey from the Chinese frontier. The hills intended appear to be the Kha-Khyeng range between Ba-mo and Yun-nan. Their next movements westward were to the Kul-to bung hill, and thence successively to the rivers Pi-sa, Mu-ning and Tu-rung and to Bi-sa or Hu-kung.†

For any light on their ancient history recourse must be had to their language.

* They say that the Lama country beyond the Mi-shmi is to the east of this river, and that in the same direction a river called the Ma-mui joins the Sam kha which runs southward through the Khamti country to Ava.

† The following are the legends referred to, which are found in the Appendix to Captain Neufville's paper.—Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XXIII. p p. 14, 15.

By the Bisa Goam, or Chief of the Sinh-pho clan of Bisa.

In the beginning, the great Gossein (the Supreme Being), created man, and regarded him with especial kindness and favour. He gave him the whole earth to dwell in and enjoy, but forbade him bathing or washing in the river called Rām Sita, under a threatened penalty of being devoured by the Rākhas, (Demon), and totally destroyed as the forfeit of his disobedience. That if, on the contrary, he refrained, Rākhas should have no power over him, and he should inherit the earth eternally.

LANGUAGE.

The language of the Sing-Pho proves that whatever may have been the direction of their latter migrations in the Irawadi basin, they originally entered it from the westward. It is Tibeto-Bur-

Mankind, however, soon disobeyed the injunction, and the whole race was devoured by Rákhas, with the exception of a man called Sírí Jía and his wife Phaksat.

These were seated under a tree, when the Gossein caused a parrot, perched on a bough, to speak and give them warning to avoid the north and fly to the southward, by which they would escape from Rákhas's hands. The man Sírí Jía obeyed, but Phaksat took the other road, and fell into the clutches of Rákhas. When Sírí Jía saw Phaksat in the power of the Demon, he was divided from them by the river Ram Sita, the forbidden stream, and forgetting, or disregarding the prohibition, he immediately crossed it to her rescue, and was also taken by Rákhas, who prepared to devour them. In the act, however, of lifting them to his mouth, a flame issued from all parts of his body, and consumed him on the spot, since which time no Rákhases have been seen on the earth, in a palpable shape.

The great Gossein having then fully instructed Sírí Jía and Phaksat in all useful knowledge, placed them on the Mújía Singra-bhúm hill, and from them, the present race of men are descended.

By the Satao Goam, or chief of the clan Satao of Sinh-phos.

The Sinh-phos came originally from a place situated two months' journey from Satao Goam, and peopled the earth.

The race of man having killed and roasted buffaloes and pigs, which they devoured, without offering up the prescribed portions in sacrifice to the gods, the Supreme Being, in his anger, sent an universal deluge, which covered the earth, and destroyed the whole race of man, with the exception of two men called Kung-litang and Kuliang and their wives, whom he warned to take refuge on the top of the Singrabhúm hill, which remained above the waters : from them the present race are descended.

A brother and sister belonging to a race superior to man were also saved. The Supreme Being directed them to conceal themselves under a conical mound of earth, taking with them two cocks and nine spikes of bamboo, the latter they were to stick through the sides of the mound, and pull them out one by one daily. They did so for eight days, but the cocks took no notice. On drawing out the ninth, the light appeared through, and the cocks crew, by which they knew that the waters had subsided. They then went out and as they were in search of fire, they encountered the old woman belonging to the Demon Rákhas, who endeavoured to seize them : they, however, effected their escape to the ninth heaven, where they were deified, and are sacrificed to by the Sinh-phos with cocks and pigs.

The name of the brother is Kai-jan and the sister Gíung.

By the Sadiya Khawa Gohein, the Khamti Prince of Sadiya.

The race of men having fallen into every kind of iniquity, the Supreme Being, "called by us Soari Mittia, but worshipped by all nations under different names,"* determined on destroying it, and creating it anew. With this view, he gave warning in a vision to four holy Goheins, directing them to take shelter in the heaven. Meru (called by the Khamti Noi Sao Pha) had then caused seven suns to appear, which burnt up the whole earth, and destroyed every thing on it. After which there came violent rains which washed away all the cinders and ashes, and refreshed and re-fertilized the earth.

The four Goheins then descended, and re-peopled it with a new race.

* Literal interpretation of his words.

man in structure and vocabulary and has special affinities not only with the adjacent Mi-jhu but with the Bodo and Garo at the western extremity of the valley of Asam and with the Nam-sang Naga. As the last occupy the higher vallies of the Buri Di-ling they may still have intercourse by the passes with the Sing-Pho of Hu-kong, but the Bodo and Garo are separated from them by all the intermediate tribes of the South Brahmaputran band. The still more distant Sak of the Yu-ma group also frequently agrees with the Sing-Pho and especially with the Jili dialect, and the Kasia, Mikir and some of the Manipuric dialects, especially the Maram group, have some similar forms of the common roots. These affinities admit of a simple explanation. The Sing-Pho tribes moved to the eastward at an early period when the cis-Himalayan dialects preserved much of an ancient Si-fan form. The subsequent conflicts and migrations of the tribes they left behind them, have produced great modifications in the dialects of some, and the close fidelity to the East Tibetan prototype which once characterised them all has been lost. Each of the Brahmaputran and Irawadi dialects in the course of its history has had special associations and undergone modifications confined to itself or shared with some of the associated dialects. Hence the peculiar affinities of any two, as the Sing-Pho and the Bodo, are accompanied by many traits in which they mutually differ while each agrees with other dialects.

The affinities of any one of a large and much intermixed family of dialects with the others are necessarily very complex. One class embraces all the dialects, so far as they remain pure, however diversified the forms and applications of the common roots may be, because this is implied in the very recognition of the family. With every successive change in the relations of the dialect to the others, a new inner circle of subordinate affinities is established, till we come down to the narrowest of all, that which has been formed by the influence of the dialects with which it has been in contact, or from which it has separated in the latest period of its history. A single vocable may enter into several of these circles—concentric or crossing. Thus *ti* or *di water* connects a number of Gangetic dialects in their most recent phase, the true explanation of the nature of the connection being the result which a com-

parison of all the available linguistic data offers to ethnography. The operation of a diffusive phonology on a common vocable of older form,—the spread of the vocable by the movements of a single dominant tribe, which gave it to the subject tribes,—the division and dispersion of a single tribe through migratory or fugitive villages—are only some of the diverse causes which may have induced the affinity indicated by the vocable in question and others entering into the same circle. But *ti* or *di* is a modern form of *tu* &c,—*tu* once existed in the form *tui*, *shui*, which again is a vocalised form of *shum*, *shung*, *shuck*. Each of these phases may indicate a distinct circle of relationship. Each has also been prolific in secondary forms, *shum*, for example, passing in some dialects into *rum*, *rum* into *rung*, *ruì*, *ru*; *shui* into *dui*, *ruì*, *ri*, *ru*, *li*. Several of those forms are generally found in the same dialect, with the original generic meaning or application lost, restricted or modified in all but one; but each, nevertheless, being the record of a period when it was the current vocable for *water* in this or in some of the related dialects.

The principal circles of relationship indicated by the Sing-Pho vocables are the following. 1st, and widest or oldest, the archaic Si-fan, embracing all the southern Tibeto-Burman dialects and including Mon-Anam ingredients. This circle embraces in addition to all the Himalaic vacables more or less widely diffused, a number now confined to one or more dialects. Most of the dialects have a proportion of this class of very rare and ancient forms, considerable if the tribe has generally occupied comparatively sequestered localities, small if its movements have long lain in or near the great southern highways of the family. Sing-Pho and Jili have a considerable number of rare and ancient Himalaic vocables.

2nd. The later great Bhoto-Sifan, of which Gyarung, in an ancient form, may be considered as the northern and Abor, in its purer form, as the southern type. It is now impressed on all the southern languages in variable degrees. The connection of Sing-Pho with the older ingredient of the southern dialects and especially of Abor-Yuma, of the connected north Gangetic Band, and of Manipuric, is chiefly through this phase.

3rd. The older Yuma-Gangetic, consisting of both archaic Sifan and of later Bhoto-Sifan ingredients. This circle embraces a large number of dialects, most of which have also a variable proportion of vocables lying out of it. It embraces Bodo, Garo, Mikir, Burman, Namsang, Sing-Pho, Mi-shmi, the Yuma group, Murmi, Gurung, Newar and in a less degree the other west Gangetic dialects, Changlo, Abor, Kasia, the Maram group, the Khari group and in a still less degree the remaining dialects. The movements that induced this wide and well marked circle of relationship appear to have been the most important that have taken place amongst the southern Tibeto-Burmans. Tribes of the Maram-Bodo class must have long possessed not only the southern Asam highlands and the valley of Asam but much of northern Bengal, for the dialects of Nipal enter more largely into this circle than those along the northern margin of Asam (Dophla, Abor, Nedu, Taying). The Sing-Pho and Jili vocabularies enter mainly into this circle.

4th. The Maram group, Garo, Bodo, Mikir, Kasia, Namsang, Sing-Pho. It is only distinguished from the preceding larger circle (3rd) by some peculiarities in prefixes and vocables, indicating a later and closer connection.

5th. The Manipuric circle. Sing-Pho and Jili have a distinct special ingredient in common with the Maram group, and to a less extent with the Champhung group and with Manipuri. These common vocables appear to belong in general to the Yuma-Gangetic circle, but as the peculiar forms or applications of Sing-Pho or Jili are repeated in this group, a certain close although not deep connection is indicated by them. The proportion is small compared with the vocables found in Yuma and Gangetic dialects.

6th. The later Yuma-Gangetic. As a few of the forms of this circle are found in Sing-pho, I advert to it principally to mark the position of Sing-Pho with reference to the cognate dialects of the 3rd circle on the Asam side of the range. These dialects have been modified since Sing-Pho separated from them, and not only by the progressive operation of the slender phonology, but by the predominance acquired by particular dialects. The influence of this latest Gangetic form extends westward to Nipal,—Dhimal, Murmi and Gurung and, to a less extent, Newar being deeply

impressed by it. The establishment of this band as a distinct one from the older and wider Yuma-Gangetic is attributable to the northern tribes retaining possession of the plains. This brought them more completely under mutual influence, and enabled a dominant tribe to spread its dialect rapidly from the Di-hing to the Gandak. The Kocch and Bodo are the present representatives of the later dominant Si-fan people of the plains. The Maram group preserve much of the older form of their languages. It may be added that at some unascertained period the line of influence was partially interrupted by the northern movement from the Maram group, which placed the Khari cluster in its present position. These tribes, at some comparatively modern epoch, must have temporarily conquered the plains, for vocables distinctly referable to the latest phasis of their dialects are found along the northern band, especially in Taying in the east and Lepcha in the west. Limbu and Kiranti have a smaller proportion.

The first broad historical inference is that the Mijhu, Jili, Sing-Pho and Namsang were at one time more to the south-west than they now are, and in a position in which they were contiguous to the Maram group, to the Mikir, Bodo, Garo and Kasia and to the Yuma. The relative position of these tribes has, doubtless, changed since the migrations which gave rise to the N. E. group. The principal later movement appears to have been a Manipuric one westward along the southern side of the upper valley of the Barak and recently across that valley into the lands of the Mikir and Bodo. Before the Kuki became predominant in the northern portion of the Yuma province, it is probable that the proper Yuma dialects extended to the Barak, and the strong affinities between the remoter members of the Garo-Jili band and Yuma dialects now so far south as Sak, appear to have arisen from the basin of the Barak having been the southern centre of this Yuma-Gangetic group. On the west the same tribes were continued into Bengal and on the north into Asam, surrounding the Kasia. Vocables referable to this Barak cluster of dialects are found in the N. E. Dravidian languages, and the Garo has ingredients distinct from the Bodo and common to it with the more southern dialects, Mikir, the Maram and Champhung groups as well as with Sing-Pho, Namsang &c, showing an early occupation of the northern part of the highlands.

It is probable from the position of the Sing-Pho dialects that they partially entered into the Manipuric circle before the western movement of the Lau and the northern advance of the Burmans isolated them. But if they had been from the first, or for a long period, merely the most western members of the Maram group, their general character would have been more deeply Manipuric, and the western affinities would not have been paramount. They must have occupied a position which placed them more intimately in connection with the northern Yuma dialects, and the east Gangetic than with any others. This position appears to have been Cachar or some portion of it. Here they would have the Garo and the cognate Asam tribe (Bodo or Kccch in an older phase) with Mikir and Kasia on the north and west, the Yuma tribes on the south or south west and the Maram group and Manipuri on the south or south east. Their movement to the eastward was probably to the north of the Maram group across the head of the Manipuri Basin of the Khyen-dwen.

PHONOLOGY.

100 words in Burman and Sing-Pho afford the following final consonants:—

	<i>ñg</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Singpho....	19	11	5	—	—	2 = 37
Burman....	9	16	—	8	7	— = 40

From this it would appear that Sing-Pho affects the liquid *ñg* and Burman *n*; that Sing-Pho has *m* like Mi-shmi and Abor-Miri while Burman wants it; and that while Burman retains the surds *k* and *t*, Sing-Pho has nearly lost them and been reduced to nasals. In both, the consonants form about 40 per cent, of which the nasals make 25 in Burman and 35 in Sing-Pho. The latter has liquid combinations, *ml*, *nl*, *nr*, *nt*, *nd*, *ñgg*, *pr*, *pht*, *kr*, *kkh*, *gr*, *mb*, *mp*, *mph*, *ts*, *nts*. The prefixed aspirates of Burman, Karen and Mon one not found in Sing-Pho, nor the aspirated liquids *lh*, *rh*, *ñgh*, *nh*, *mh*, nor the sonant sibilant *z* and its combinations, nor those sounds common to Burman and Chinese in which *w* forms an element, as *mw*, *mrv*, *rw*, *khv*, *sv*, *thv* &c. The Sing-Pho *mr* in some cases corresponds to the Burman *mr*, but the initial *m* is often a contraction of the prefix *ma* common to Sing-Pho with

Naga, as in *mbung*, (Nag., *mapung*, pong); *māsum*, 3; *mēli*, 4; *manga* 5; *matsat*, 8; *mlisi*, 40; *mangasi*, 50. The numerals are found bare in Burman. *N* is also sometimes a contraction of the prefix *na*.

PRONOUNS AND DEFINITIVES.

The 1st and 2nd pronouns are the common Tibeto Burman roots.

I, *ngai*, *I* formerly considered as the normal Tibetan form, with *i*—a pl. or poss. particle—suffixed. The same form occurs in *Tengsa, ngai*. Like forms are common in the pl. and poss. of other dialects (e. g. Burman *nga-i* poss.) But as several of the Yuma-Manipuri dialects have a tendency to the archaic final *oi*, *ai*, *ui*, and as this tendency is found in dialects with which Sing-Pho has special relations, I now consider the Sing-Pho and *Tengsa ngai* as an older form of *ngi*. That this was the normal form of the Khari group is confirmed by the *Nagaung ngi* and *Khari ni*. Sing-Pho has *nge*, *nye* in the poss. Sing-Pho has other examples of *ai*, where other dialects have *i*. Ex. *n-dai this*, *the*, *di* Burman; *sai blood*, *ta-zyai* in the cognate *Kareng*, *zyi*, *zi si* &c, in other dialects.

The 2nd pron. has the normal Tibetan and common southern form *nan*. A slender form *ni* is also used, corresponding with the pl. of *Khari* and *Dhimal ni*, *Angami* and *Namsang ne*, *Deoria a-ni*.

The 3rd pron. *khi* is a slender form of *khu*, *kho* *Bhotian*, *Limbu*, *khon Lau*, as in *Kambojan khe*, *Kasia ka fem.*, *ki pl.*, *Anam kia*.

The plurals are irregular. The 1st is *i*, probably a contraction of *ni*, the slender form of the root or the pl. particle, found in the 3rd *khi-ni they* (*Namsang ning*, *Khyeng ni*, *li*, *di*, *Murmi ni*, *Horpa ni*, *Mikir li*, *Kasia i*, *A-Rung nui*). The 2nd pron. has *-theng*, a slender form of *tung* *Tiberkhad*, similar to the *Tengsa*, *Angami* and *Toung-thu the*, and allied to the Burman *do*, *to*, *Bhot. dag*, *Chinese tang* &c. (See *Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands*, ch. v., sec. 11; ch. vi. sec. 3).

The poss. *na* (nouns, pronouns) is *Namsang nang*, *rang*, *Murmi na*, *la*, *Mikir ne*, *Bodo*, *Garo ni*. This is the *Scythic* and *Dravi-*

rian nasal possessive. In Tibet, although not current as a poss., it is common as a definitive, directive (dative, locative) and assertive.

The definitive dai, occurring in *n-dai this*, *ga-dai-ma who* and used by itself as the assertive absolute (*tai Joboka*, *d-, da- Bhotian*, *da- Gyarung*, *Abor, -dang Bodo*, *thi Burman*) is the common Chino-Himalaic demonstrative and def. (ch. vi., sec. 3) in the archaic A-Rung form, *in-dai which, what*.*

The pronoun is not repeated before or after the word used assertively as in the adjacent Namsang (postf.), Dhimal (postf.), Kuki (pref.), and the 1st person of Gyarung (postf.)—Sing-Pho, like most of the Tibeto-Burman dialects having, it is probable, lost this archaic Scythoid trait in the progress of that relapse towards a crude Chinoid form which marks all the Himalaic tongues. (Ethn. ch. vi., sec. 2).

The definitives used as assertive postfixes are *dai present*, *-ha past*, (*-hi Dhimal*, *s, ha, ha-dai completive Bhotian*) *ha-dai completive*, *-a future (-a Bhotian)*. *Ha* occurs as a proximate def. in the Bhotian *ha-de this*, *ha-di-na here*, *Angami ha-ki hm* and as a remote in the Gyarung *ha-di that* (*chi-di this*).

Sing-Pho retains the full archaic range of Himalaic prefixes, and they have euphonic variations similar to those of the Kasia and other dialects that most largely preserve the system. The most marked is the use of the sibilant for the dental, which again is from the guttural (*ki=ti=si=li*.)

The Sing-Pho series of prefixes has a close resemblance to that of Kasia, Mikir, and A-Rung. The slender sibilant is common in Kasia and remnants of it occur in Mikir, Namsang, A-Rung, Bodo and Garo.

Jili is distinguished from Sing-Pho by its very frequent use of the dental form of the prefix. It takes it where Sing-Pho has a different prefix (c. g., *stone n-long S.*, *ta-long J.*, *snake la-pu S.*, *ta pu J.*) or none (c. g. *ta-shai blood*, *la-li boat*, *ta-van fire*, *ta-nga fish*, *ta-we monkey*). This form of the dental is also common in the Tengsa group.

The prefixes are the labial *ma-*, *m-* (*ma-reng village*, *ma-phik skin* Jili, *ma-chik*, *bird J.*, *m-bong air*, *m-chin water J.* *ma-gwi*

* A similar form is found in thoi *that*, Mulung; thoi-theo *this*, thoi-nan *that* Tablung; thai *here* Khamti.

elephant, mi-ling forest); the liquid ning-, ni-, na-, n-, la- (*ning-pap beard, ning-syi knife, ning-thoi light, ning-gup mouth, ning-tong nest, ning-nan new, ning-sa old, ning-tsing dark* (Mikir *ing-ting* kok), *ning-tsang above, n-rang bone, -la-gong foot, la-ku bed, la-gat bee, n-ta house, n-lung stone, n-tsin water, n-khong two, n-dai this, n-sang man* J.); the sibilant si-, sing-, sa- (*si-ban flower, si-ta moon, sing-pho man, sing-let tongue, tsi-g-rong mosquito, si-gan, sa-gan star, sa-rong, si-rong tiger*);—the guttural gu-, gum- (*hham-rang bone* Jili, *hum-sai sand, kan-su cow, ga-gin ant, ku-tun short, ga-lu long, ha-tsing row*).

Structure.

The structure of the Tibeto-Burman dialects is Scytho-Himalaic,—that is, while the monosyllabic roots, the definitive prefixes, the general crudeness and boldness, and the position of the qualitative after the substantive, are Himalaic,—the collocation in other respects, the use of postposed or postfixed particles as directives and assertives; their cumulation, the partial pronominalisation of substantives possessively and assertively, and the tendency to phonetic harmony, are Scythoid.

The general structure of Sing-Pho is Tibetan of the crudest kind, as the preceding account of its deficiencies, and the following examples will show. Phra ai-ma nga-dai ("God one (there) is"); Phra n-dai mu sijo-ha-dai ("Go! this, sky make-did"); Khi nga sijo-ha-dai ("He earth make-did"); Ngai-fe, nang-fe, sing-pho yong-fe khi sijo-ha-dai ("Me, you, men all, he make-did," *fe* dative, but from this ex. objective also); phun he-tsing, tso-de* bum, kha-nu gu-ba, jan, si-ta, si-gan tu-dai si-jo-ha-dai (tree green, high mountain, water great, sun, moon, star shining, make-did); yong se-ra-i mu-dai (all place-in sea-does).

NUMERALS.

- 1 ai-ma (si ai 11, khun ai 21).
- 2 n-khong (ni in 20, nit 7).
- 3 ma-sum (tum in 30. The Manipuric, not the Bodo-Nams. form).
- 4 me-li (m-li in 40; Nams. be-li).

* As the qualitative invariably follows the substantive, tso-de appears to have been transposed.

- 5 *ma-nga* (*ba-nga* Nams. &c).
 6 *k-ru* (Garo *k-rok*).
 7 *si-nit* (Nams. *i-ngit*, Bodo *chi-ni*, *si-ni*, *s-ni*, Mikir 2 *hi-ni*,
 Garo 2 *gi-ni*, Bodo 2 *gu-ni*).
 8 *ma-tsai* (Nams. *i-sat*, Bodo *ma-jai*, *jat*, Arung *ti-sat*).
 9 *tse-khu* (Garo *sh-ku*, Bodo *s-ku*, Arung *si-kui*).
 10 *si* (Nams., Bodo, Garo *chi*, *ji*).
 20 *khun* (Bodo *ma-khon*).
 100 *lat-sa* (Kuki &c).
 200 *ni-sa*

These forms illustrate the connection of Sing-Pho with the Bodo-Namsang group. 1 and 2 are exceptional. *Ai* is a def. prefix found also in *ai-di well* and in *ai-di this ai-gum thus* of the cognate A-Rung, *hai-kami thus* Angami, &c. *Hai* appears to be the full form and identifies the def. with *ai*, *hai*, *hoi* &c., used as a def., an assertive, the affirmative *yes* &c. (Comp: with the examples previously given, *yes* ha Garo, *ai-ya* Mulung, *Tab-lung*, *hau*, *au*, *ho* Khari gr., *hoi* Manipuri, Mikir, and the demonstrative and qualitative pref. of Namsang, Manipuri, Kuki, and Mikir). In A-rung *hu-*, *ho-*, *hi-*, *he-*, *hin-*, *in-* is a common prefix. The intermediate and the original *ku-*, *su* &c., (*gu-* of Bodo) are also current. The sibilant and aspirate forms correspond with the Kasia, Mikir and Sing-Pho *sing-*, *hing-*, &c. Similar forms occur in some of the adjacent Manipuric dialects *ha-chu*, *ha-ru*, *a-tu* (*egg* i. e. *water* with the word for *bird* elided), *ai-chu water*, *hai-cheang*, *ha-cheang mosquito*. Manipuri has *a-ma* 1 identical with the Sing-Pho *ai-ma*. The root *ma* is Mon-Anam, as in the Mi-jhu, Angami, and Khyeng labial unit. 2, *n-khong* is peculiar; *khong* is the archaic Chino-Hamalaic unit, and the Sing-Pho numeral like the Changlo may have repeated 1 after 2 (*ngik-ching* Ch.).

MISCELLANEOUS WORDS.

1. *Names of Natural Objects.*

- Air* *m-bong*; Mi-jhu *m-boong*, Nams.pong; Nag. *ma-bung*, Tengsa *ma-pung*, Khari mong, Songpu *n-poon*; Mikir *to-mon*; an archaic Chinese and Si-fan form. See *Sky*.
Sky *mu-mo* S., *ma-mo* S., J.; Gyarung, Miri, Burm. *Toung-thu*, Karen, Mru; Gurung, (mun) Murmi. A contraction

of mon; Gyarung *tu-mon*, Miri *do-mur*; Thochu, Man-yak mah; Thochu *sun mun*. The Bhotian names are different, nam *sky*, *nyi sun*.

Sun *ka-tsan* J., *tsan, jan* S.; Nams. *san*, Bodo, Garo, Deoria, shan, *san*, &c., [com. for Day with no vowel. Tiberkhad has *zhang-ma*].

Day (a) *ta-na* J.; Karen -ni *ta-nay*, Arung, *nai*, Kapwi *tam-lai*, Anam *ngai*.

(b) *si-ni* S.; Tablung *ti-ni*, Gurung, Murmi *di-ni*, Khyeng *ta-ni*, Kumi *ka-ni* (Gyarung, *sun, ki-ni*). Late Bhoto-Sifan and Yuma-Gangetic.

Light *ning-thoi*, *thoi* S., *thwe* J., N. S. Tangkhul *she, shea, white tho*, (Muthun) *so, song &c.*, com. (43*). An archaic Him. vocable.

Fire *ta-van* J., *wan* S.; van Nams. Muth., Job., wal Garo; Mon-Anam, com. in Lau with other applications. Dravirian.

Moon *sa-ta*; Nams. *da*, Khari *ga*, Manip., Kapwi *tha*, Sak *that-ta*, Mrung *ta*, Bodo *daing*, Dhimal *ta-li*. Arch. Him.

Star *sa-kan, sa-gan, si-gan*; Koreng *cha-gan*, Maram *cha-gan-thai*, Songpu *ghan-chong-la*.

Earth *ngga, nga* S., *ta-ka* J.; Sak *ka*, Kiranti *ba-kha*, Limbu *kham*, Anam, Karen, Sunwar *khon, kho &c.* Prob. Drav.

Mountain *bum, bom* S.; N. and C. Tangkhul, Champh., Luh. *ka-phung*, Kumi *moi*. Bum is the oldest form extant.

Stone *n-long* S., *ta-long* J.; com. Sak *ta-lon*, Koreng *ta-lo*, Kumi *ka-lun*.

Water *n-tsin* S., *m-chin* J.; Manip. *i-sing* (river Koreng *shing-gu*). The vowel is that of the Gyarung and later Gangeto-Yuman vocalic form, *chi, ti, di, si*, prevalent along the Gangetic line from Milchanang to Mishmi as well as in Yuma dialects. But the final nasal associates the form with the archaic Scytho-Himalaic *sung, chim &c.*, preserved in names for *river* in Anam &c. Ko-reng has *shing-gu river*. From *sum, shum, sung, sang* (itself from *kung, kong, kang, hung &c.*) have come *shui, shai, thui, dui*,

* The references are to Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands, Part ii. ch. vi., Sec. 6. (The Glossarial connection between J. Ultraindo-Gangetic and Tibetan), where the forms in other dialects will be found.

shu, su, tu, du &c., and from these shi, si, ti &c. While for *water* a form referable to sung is current, the modern Gangetic form ti, di, is found in *egg* wu-di, u-di S., wu *bird* (o-ti Mikir, Muthun, Job.) ma-ti J., (ma-chik *bird*, comp. for *egg* a-ti Nams., wa-ti Lung-ke). *Egg* is "*bird's-water*" in most of the Southern dialects.

River (a) kha S.; Kumi *ta-gha*, Joboka swo-kha &c. Archaic Him.

(b) *ta-lau* J.; Tengsa tu-la &c, Newar *water* lau, la, Mikir lang.

The liquid name is extensively prevalent, but from the strong tendency the sibilant initial at one time had to pass into the liquid, and the mode in which the two forms are distributed, I now consider the r, l, n forms as modifications, often very archaic, of the root in s, t, d. The series rum, lum, num, dum, ram, lam, nam, dam, (rang, rak, dak, rui, lui, noi &c.) corresponds with sum, sam, sung, sui &c. That the liquid form is very archaic appears from num *oil*, Bhotian, nam *oil*, *water* Lau, nam *blood* Kasia, rum *water* in the Manipuri ye-rum *egg*, Maram a-roi-ghum *egg* (a-roi *bird*, ghum for rum) and the numerous forms elsewhere given—(Ethn. 49.)

Blood *ta-shai* J. sai S.; Koreng *ta-zyai*, Arung *he-zai*, Songpu *zyai*, Tengsa ai, Garo *han-chai*, (*oil* to-chai) com. form su si thi &c.; but shai associates itself with the older Chino-Him. shui, thui &c.

Oil. nam-man; Lau, (Lepcha).

Milk tsu S. i. e. *water* with the preposed word for *cow*, *buffaloe*, *goat* &c., lost; tsu is the Khari and Angami form for *water* corresponding with chu, tu &c. In the Khari group *milk* is ma-ma-tsu, ma-ma-tu, in Angami *pa-nu-tsu* (nu *goat*). Kuki has noi tui (si-loi *buffaloe*, tui *water*), Cachari Bodo mu-sung gi-di (*mu-su* *cow*, di *water*).

*** Seven prevalent forms of the Scythic and Chino-Himalaic root for *water* occur in the above vocables kha; tsin or chin, shai, tsu, di or ti, nam, lau; and lui in nga-lui *buffaloe* (water-ox) adds an eighth.

Names of Parts of the Body.

- Head** (a) bong S.; Abor *dam-pong*, Mikir *phu*, Koreng, Ma-ram, Songpu, Sunwar *cha-pi pi* (60).
 (b) *ng-gum* J.; Burman *khong*, ghaung, Namsang *kho*, Tengsa *ta-kho*, Sak *a-kho* (60).
- Hair** *ha-ra*; Bhotian *h-ra* (61).
- Eye** (a) *mi* S.; Mijhu, Angami, Dhimal, Yuma (61).
 (b) *n-ju* J. (exceptional).
- Mouth** *ning-gup*, *ng-gop* S., *nong* J.; Mikir *ang-gho*, Burm. *nhup*, *nhok*, Changlo *naang*, Mru *naur*, Magar *nger*, Dhimal *nui* (63).
- Tooth** (a) *wa* S. com. *wa*, *va* &c., (64).
 (b) *kong* J.; Kiranti *kang* (64).
- Ear** *ha-na* J., *na* S.; Nams. *na* com. (62).
- Hand** (a) *let-ta* S.; Burm. *let* (65).
 (b) *ta-phan* J.; Songpu, Koreng, Luh., Champh., *ban*, *a-pan* &c., (65).
- Foot** (a) *la-gong* S.; Manipuri *khong*, Mrung *ga-kong* &c., (65) *r-kang* Bhot.
 (b) *ta-khyai* J.
- Bone** *kham-rang* J., *n-rang* S.; Garo *he-reng*, com. in various forms.
- Horn** *rung* S., *sa-lung* J.; Nams. *rong*, Garo *g-rong*, Sak *a-rung*; Horpa *k-rum-bo*, Garung *ta-ru*.
- Skin** *ma-phik* J., *phi* S.; Karen, Kumi *pik*, *pi* &c., (Bhotian *pag*).

Names of Family and Social Relations.

- Man** (a) *sing-pho*, *sim-pho* S.; Chino-Him. com. masculine *male*, *father*, *brother* (67).
 (b) *n-sang* J.; Tengsø, Nog. *me-sung*, Tablung, Mulung *sam niak*, *p-sha* Pwo Karen, Newar *male jang* (69).
- Woman, wife**, *num sya* S., *Mother nu*, *Daughter sya*, *Girl si-nr*, *Female nu*; *nu* Mijhu, Kumi, Anam &c.; Kyau *mother nung*. Chino-Him.
- Husband** *la* S.; Nams. *de-la*, Bodo *male je-la* (68).
- Son** *la sya* S.; Nams. *cha* (*root cha*, *sa* &c., *small*, *young* &c.).

Brother (elder) pu Nams. i-pho (67); (younger) nau.

Sister na-ba; na *fem.* Chinese, na-na *mother* Miri &c, (71).

Child mang S.

Father wa S., va J.; Nams. va com. (67).

Uncle wa dui S.

Mother nu S. (su *woman*).

Names of Domestic and of some Wild Animals.

Cat te-nyau J., nyau S.; Champhung ha-ngau-bi (goat hing-ngau Khoibu).

Dog ta-kwi J., kwi, gui S.; com. Mijhu, Mul., Tabl.; Mru ta-kwi, Burm. khwe &c. The Naga and Manipuric forms are contractions wi &c.

Hog ta-wak J., wa S.; com., Koreng ha-vak, Mru ta-pak.

Goat (a) ta-khyen J.; Nams. kien, Kapwi ken.

(b) pai-nam S.; Mijhu kam-pai, Arung hi-mei &c.

Cow (a) ta-nga J.; Manyak nga-zi, Lau ngo, Chinese.

(b) kan-su S., com., but generally with the lab. pref. *ma-su* Khari.

Buffalo nga-lui J., nga S., Champh. nga-lui, lui, loi, com. (prob-*mater*); na, la, ra, lo Yuma.

The resemblance of the liquid root for *cow* &c., to that for *water* obscures the etymology of the names for the *buffalo*. But I now think that in many of them the liquid is *water* and not *cow* as I formerly inferred. Thus the Abor men-dak is the common labial root for quadruped &c., followed by an archaic Himalaic (Mon, Anam &c) root for *water*. The Song-pu woi-rhoi is a similar compound (dui *water*). The Dhimal moi-sho, moi-shi has the same labial generic name and sho, shi may be *water* and not the sibilant for *cow*. Kyau has *sha-ra cow*, *cha-la-we buffalo* in which we appears to be a contracted form of the word for *water* tu-we. The Angami ra-li has the Yuma root followed by the slender form of the liquid root for *water* and the Nams. le buffalo appears to be the same form with the word for *cow* elided, as it is in most of the Manipuric vocabularies.

Elephant (a) ma-gui S.; Sak u-ku, Godoba (kom; kom, kui &c., is a generic name for quadrupeds applied with distinctive prefixes or qualities to the *horse*, *tiger*, *goat*, *monkey* and *dog*.)

(b) tsang J.; Lau, Chinese.

Horse gum-rang, kam-rang, kham-rang, 2 roots comp. kom-beng Mi-jhu (kom *bear* ; kom *tiger* Manipurie), Khari khung-ri, khumi kOUNG-ngu, Mru ko-rang, Burm. m-rang, Chepang se-rang, Milchanang rang, Koreng *cha-kongi* &c., (101).

Tiger (a) *sa-rong* S. ; *cat* Gyarung *ta-rhu*, Burman *k-rOUNg*.

(b) *ka-sa* J., Nams. sa, Garo *ma-tsa* &c., (101).

Monkey *ta-we* J., *we* S. ; Nams. veh, Garo, Mikir, Abor.

Fish *ta-nga* J., *nga* S. ; com.

Snake *ta-pu* J., *la-pu* S. ; com. *ka-pu* Sak.

Bird (a) *ma-chik* J. ; Manipuri *u-chek*, Koreng *n-thik-na*.

(b) *wu* S. ; Nams. vo &c., com.

Words of Art.

House (a) *n-ta* S., kambojan *pe-tah*, Dhimal *cha*, Manip. *sang*.

(b) *kim* J. com.

Village (a) *ma-reng*, *me-reng*, S. ; *rong*, *lang* &c., com.

(b) *m-bat* J., Dravirian (108).

Road (a) *lam* S. com.

(b) *tang-long* J., Lau *tang*, *long* a form of *lam* &c., (109).

Boat *ta-li* J., *li* S. ; com. Maram, Marung, Kapwi, Karen, Burman &c., the older form is *lu*, *ru*, *lOUNg* &c.

Arrow *ma-la* J., *pa-la* S. com. Karen *pa-la*, *p-la*, Burman *m-ra* &c. (110).

Iron *ta-phi* J. ; Maram *ka-pha*.

m-p-ri S. ; S. Tangkhul *ma-ri*.

Salt *tsu*m, *chum* ; com. Nams. *sum* &c., &c.

Leaf *lap* ; Nams. *nyap*, Takpa *b-lap*, Mru *a-ram*.

Tree *phun*, Sak *pung-pang* (*pan* &c., is com.)

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NOTES ON THE MALAYS OF PINANG AND PROVINCE WELLESLEY.

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Introduction.

MUCH useful information has been published regarding the history, language and national characteristics of the Malays, and the subject is probably exhausted; their domestic habits, however, have not shared the same degree of attention.

The following notes touch principally on individual and family life, as observed by the writer. They refer particularly to the Malays inhabiting Pinang and Province Wellesley, but may throw some light on the manners and customs of the whole race.

Many of the usages alluded to have been personally observed, others from their privacy have been obtained from the natives, and every care has been taken to correct the narrative from several descriptions, so that it may be rendered as truthful as possible.

The writer's duties connected him for the greater portion of seven years with Malays, and he was able to observe attentively the various phases of their character. The opinions he has formed of them are at variance with the views adopted by the majority of Europeans, and may probably startle those who

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regard the Malayan race with sentiments of horror ; a disposition engendered by the perusal of barbarous outrages on sea and land which are unhappily too true, yet such events tend to mislead a stranger in forming his opinion of their individual or private character.

To a superficial observer the Malay presents but few features of interest;—he is usually seen lounging about, enveloped in his sarong,* his features nearly concealed from view; or he may be leaning against the posts of a house or trunk of a tree, apparently regardless of all around ; or he may be seen lying on his lantie† chewing the siri‡ leaf. Such a cursory view serves to disgust an European, but to one who has been intimately connected with Malays for several years, they insensibly assume a different aspect, he becomes impressed with their good qualities to the exclusion of the bad, and he sees much in them to admire.

Such is not the experience of those similarly connected with other Asiatics ; the longer one associates with natives of India or China, the fewer good qualities can he discern, and all their vices stand out in bold relief.

It must be remembered that the above remarks refer only to the inhabitants of seaport towns in India, China and the several stations in the Straits of Malacca.

The Malay of a British Settlement may resemble his prototype of a native state in his general character, but from his connection with natives of other countries, and the influence of our laws and example, he probably differs in his habits. The following sketches therefore are not to be regarded as pictures of Malayan usages as they prevail in Sumatra, or any other independent territory uninfluenced by foreigners.

J. D. V.

Singapore, }
March 31st, 1857. }

* *Sarong*.—A sheath or wrapper, *literally*; the body clothes or main part of dress, consisting of a single piece of cloth wrapped round the lower part of the person.—*Crawford*.

† *Lantie*.—A flooring made of laths, which are usually cut from the nibong palm. (The *Caryota urens*).—*Ibid*.

‡ *Siri*.—The leaf of the betel pepper plant, which is masticated with the betel-nut and prepared lime, by the majority of natives throughout the East.

NOTES.

Childbirth and Youth.—The young Malay is ushered into the world, attended by those dangers that are ever to be found in the train of ignorance.

Several months before parturition great exertions are made by the expectant parents to collect fuel, which is an indispensable part of the lying-in apparatus, together with some medicines in the shape of oils and herbs of various descriptions.

The crones that act as nurses are, as may be supposed, perfectly ignorant of the art of midwifery, and quite incapable of rendering any assistance in the event of danger.

In most cases nature accomplishes the work unaided, but if any difficulty occurs, the mother or child must fall a victim to their stupidity.

During labour a fire is kindled with the fuel so assiduously collected, to which the woman's person is exposed, and sometimes so closely that the heat causes a violent irritation of the nerves which quite unfits her for the requisite exertions.

On one occasion a poor woman was brought to the point of death by the ignorance of the midwife, and would have died if she had not been rescued by the kind interposition of the Civil Assistant Surgeon; the excessive excitement caused by the heat was so overpowering that aberration of mind ensued which continued for several months.

When the child is born it is cleansed and swaddled from shoulder to heel, and kept so sometimes for three months. This bandage, it is believed, keeps the child well formed, by preventing it from starting suddenly and thereby distorting its limbs.

The custom of swaddling children prevailed in England till within a very short period, for Miss Strickland mentions in her "*Lives of the Queens of England*," that she knew a lady in her youth, who had herself seen or whose mother had, children bandaged in the same way.

After childbirth the mother is exposed to a roaring fire, once in every twelve hours, for an hour or more at a time. This is continued forty days, and in addition heated bricks and sand are sometimes applied to the stomach. To this barbarous practice may be attributed the emaciated and shrivelled look that all Malay women assume after bearing a few children.

During the lying-in, an Imam or priest reads portions of the Koran in an adjoining chamber to the inmates and visitors; this is not a general custom, but is adopted only by those that are well to do.

When the child is seven days old a feast is held, and in the presence of the guests the child's head is shaved and his name announced by the Katib (or assistant priest).

On the fortieth day after birth a second feast is given, and the child may be named on that day if more convenient; the wealthy generally name the child when seven days old, but the indigent are obliged to postpone the ceremony to the fortieth day, so as to get the necessary funds for the feast. On the seventh day when the head is shaved, a tuft of hair is left on the crown to denote that the child is still unclean; this tuft is taken off on the fortieth day and the child is considered purified, the mother bathes and is exposed no more to fire after that day.

It is customary to name the eldest child Sulong and the youngest Bongsu, irrespective of their sex. Seven names are invariably used by rural Malays. They are Sulong, Awang, Itam, Puteh, Allang, Pendeh and Kechil. If more children are born, the same names are repeated, with the word kechil (small or younger) annexed, thus Sulong Kechil, Awang Kechil. Girls are included in the above nomenclature, with the addition of the word Meh or Mah prefixed,—thus, Meh Sulong, Meh Kechil.

It follows necessarily that in each campong or village there are several men and women of the same name. To avoid confusion nick-names are resorted to. The following epithets are frequently heard:

Awang Itam, or Awang the black.

Long (a contraction of Sulong) Puteh, or Long the fair. Kechil Pendeh, or Kechil the short.

Allang Gumoh or Allang the fat.

Itam Panjang or Itam the tall.

Puteh Benkoh or Puteh the crooked, and so on ad infinitum.

The above custom is very ancient. Other names, such as Mahomet, Drahmin, Abdulrahman, Babu, Daoud, Hussain, are obtained from foreigners. Nick-names are not restricted to the above names; every peculiarity is noticed and some wit of the village connects it with the individual's real name, and if it be a hit the new name is generally used—thus

Matt (Mahomet abbreviated or corrupted) Kurbau—Matt the buffalo.

Drahmin Juling—squinting Drahmin.

Babu Tuli or Pukka, Babu the deaf.

Ismail Brani, Ismail the brave.

The nickname frequently supersedes the real name and people are soon known by the former only, viz. Gumoh, Pendeh, Benkoh, Juling Mata, &c.

Females share the same fate. Some are Chanti, (handsome), Manis, (sweet) Bungah (a flower), Puteh, Itam. To their honor be it said the Malays see no defects in their women and all bear pretty nicknames.

Occupations, residences &c, also afford nicknames.

Babes are suckled till they are twelve or fourteen months old and are then fed by the mother on all she eats herself.

During the progress of dentition no particular care is taken of children and no relief is afforded them when suffering. Such a recourse as cutting the gums to free the teeth is unknown. The consequence is that about fifty per cent die at an early age.

On noticing delicate children who were evidently suffering with their teeth, and inquiring if any remedies were afforded them, the parents have evinced the greatest unconcern on the subject. They replied that children never ail while teething, that they get their teeth easily and that no care is required; they admit that a great number die young, but it is difficult to persuade them that teething is the cause of their illness. The writer has made inquiries and learnt that fully half the offspring of each family perish from neglect.

When a child is too young to crawl, it is usually put in a basket which is suspended from the rafters of the house, the mother swings it to and fro by means of a string tied thereto, or if employed, and there are other children in the house, the latter are made to do it in turns. Sometimes the mother carries her babe slung over the shoulder in a hammock or bag, when she is employed out of doors or engaged in household duties, by so doing her arms are free. A child is occasionally carried on the hip with a leg on each side of the body; this is an eastern custom, but it is not so common among the Malays as it is on the Continent of India.

Women are seldom seen caressing their children, but the opposite sex delight in fondling them and may be constantly observed with their children in their arms. Cleanliness is much neglected and it is not usual to bathe children as a regular custom, their diet is also entirely neglected. The consequence is that unwholesome food and the dirt they are allowed to revel in induces an eruption of boils or small cancers called *Puru*, which spreads over the whole body rendering the children most loathsome objects. The opinion that dirt and unwholesome food causes *Puru* is derived from the natives themselves. Some medical men come to a different conclusion and impute the disease to Syphilis in the parents. This is contraverted by the fact that children of the healthiest are afflicted by the disease, and but few escape. These cancers are seldom noticed and medicine is rarely applied to them; the general belief is that the disease must have its course and nothing will cure it; some apply iron rust and lime juice heated, but very little faith is placed in the remedy. Calomel has been tried in several cases, and it proved an infallible cure.

The disease is probably contagious and many children contract it from their companions. It is singular that without any remedies the cancers gradually disappear as maturity advances, leaving their victims scarred for life.

Few Malays are to be found with clear skins. *Puru* sometimes leaves white scars and when very deep set cramps the fingers and toes and renders them useless, giving the afflicted a leprous appearance.

Malays are prejudiced against vaccination, and although apothecaries are sent to each district annually to perform the operation, but few bring their children forward. Children are seldom clothed beyond having a square piece of cloth tied over the chest.

Circumcision.—Between ten and fifteen years of age it becomes necessary to circumcise male children.

A feast is held and the boy carried in procession for several days.

On the day of the ceremony, the guests assemble in a *Balie* or hall erected for the occasion and the Koran and other books are read to them. After the feast, a mat bag containing paddy is placed on the ashes of burnt plantain leaves at one end of the

hall. The boy is bathed, conducted in and seated on the bag. A white sheet is thrown over his shoulders leaving the fore part of the body exposed.

When all is prepared the boy is held down by the shoulders and legs, and the Mudin or professional circumciser performs the operation in a trice. The ceremony is a private one to women but men of all sects may witness it. The wounded part is wrapped in a piece of cloth steeped in some absorbent and in fifteen days it heals. As each Mudin employs his own nostrum it is difficult to obtain the correct prescription; white lime prepared for mastication with the siri leaf appears to be the principal ingredient.

Here a difficulty arises and the intelligent Mahomedan questions himself thus,—if a man must be circumcised to obtain salvation what becomes of a woman? The fact that the Koran casts her out of the pale of salvation, thereby depriving her of a Soul, is undeniable. The Malay, although forced to bow to the Prophet in doctrine, yet in practice denies the principle, convinced that women do not differ from men and that they have souls. They have invented a rite in defiance of Mahommed and his Laws and admit women to equal privileges as themselves. Between the ages of four or five they are admitted into Mahomedanism by an operation resembling circumcision.

Education.—When the child is old enough he is forced to school, if there happens to be one in the neighbourhood, for the Malay does not insist on his child exerting himself too much. If no school exists in the campong the youth is suffered to follow the bent of his inclination and he passes his time in idleness. There exist no schools wherein the vernacular is taught, (except those established by Europeans). The Koran is the only book that is admitted into a native school, it is learnt by rote, and few know the meaning of what they read. This fact applies to priests as well as laymen. Some of the former class have been known to be so ignorant as not to be able to *read* the Arabic character at all. This was the case with the late Kali or head priest of Glugore district (Penang), at one time one of the most influential men of his sect. He was unable to read, but had learnt the Koran by heart and could repeat chapter after chapter with unfailing memory. On one occasion he was summoned before the Supreme

Court of Judicature as a witness in an intricate case, wherein he had to swear to the identity of an important paper; this he did, but his evidence was objected to by one of the opposite party on the plea that the Kali *could not read*; the old man was highly indignant and produced a Koran from his pocket to refute the base assertion. He read several lines when the objector called the attention of the Court to the fact that the Kali was at that moment holding the book upside down and repeating the words from memory; this was too true, and the feelings of the old rogue may be more easily conceived than described. Yet this man was acknowledged by an immense number of Malays as their religious teacher and priest, one whose duties are of the greatest responsibility, he was also recognised by the Local Government as the Head Priest of the Southern Districts of Pulo Pinang and held official appointments from several Governors. The present priest of one of the Mosques in George Town does not know the meaning of a single word he reads in the Koran.*

There are exceptions of course, and highly educated and intelligent Malays are to be met with, who are usually of Arabic extraction. Females are never educated, they are regarded as the labouring part of the community, all household duties and even out-door work which affects the family are performed by them, whilst the males amuse themselves in various ways. Women are however better treated and considered more as equals by the Malays than any other Mahomedans.

That females are capable of acquiring knowledge is proved by the fact that several schools are conducted by them. There are two in Pinang, kept by the widows of two teachers who were taught by their husbands, and turn their knowledge to good account now that they are left to provide for themselves.

The Malay youth imbibes his parent's apathy from his earliest years, and residing in a manner isolated from his birth, seldom associates with children of his own age and grows up retiring and morose. Childish games are unknown: as they approach manhood a game is sometimes indulged in, which is the only one that seems indigenous, or it may have been acquired from their neigh-

* This remark was written November 1855—in June 1856 the same priest was attached to the mosque alluded to.

hours, the Siamese. It is called Sepa Raga, and will be described in a future chapter.

When very young, children imitate their seniors in their musical recreations, and can with great facility compose pantuns or sonnets.

Betrothal and Marriage.—The Malays are as desirous of making good matches for their children as their more civilized brethren, and when they perceive a suitable person, that is, one possessing money or landed property, or who has the right of inheriting any, they solicit the hand of the favoured one for their child and the affair is arranged by the parents to their mutual satisfaction. Children are thus affianced at a very tender age. The parents go before a priest and in the presence of two witnesses or more the children are betrothed and the marriage is consummated when they arrive at maturer years.

If the girl is old enough to decide for herself, she is questioned, and if her views coincide with her father's the latter goes to a Kali (or priest) and tells him that his daughter is anxious to engage herself to so and so. If the Kali approves of the match the pair appear before him on a certain day, and in the presence of witnesses the Kali says to the young man "I have betrothed you to N the daughter of A and you must give him so much," and mentions the amount required by the parents of the girl for the marriage expenses, which is of course guided by circumstances. The young man replies "I am truly affianced to N and will pay the required amount." The Kali then asks the witnesses if they heard the man, and if they reply in the affirmative, it suffices, but if, on the contrary, they declare his reply inaudible, the whole ceremony is repeated.

Should the girl's father be alive and residing within a convenient distance, it is indispensibly necessary that he should be present at the ceremony.

After the betrothal, should it be discovered that the father was near and not present, it would be the duty of the Kali to insist on the ceremony being repeated in the father's presence.

If the father be more than a two days journey distant, or if it is an unsafe road, it is not necessary for him to be present, but the next of kin appears, and if there is none, then a friend or Wali attends and performs the father's part.

When the girl is old enough to live with her husband the

second ceremony or Nika is performed. The husband elect is carried in procession on a platform, or artificial car, which is borne on the shoulders of men to the house of the bride. On reaching the door the latter is brought out and placed on the stage near her affianced and carried in procession back to the latter's residence. The procession is made up of musicians, flag bearers, the relatives of both parties, and as many of the inhabitants of the same campong as feel inclined to join, some on foot, others on horseback. Fire arms and crackers are discharged as they proceed and mirth and laughter are the order of the day.

The husband's parents provide the feast which is partaken of on returning from the girl's house.

The ceremony connected with the marriage is simple,—the betrothed in the presence of the assembly acknowledge their new relationship of man and wife.

After two days the newly married pair dress in gay clothing and receive their relatives and friends.

Social Habits.—Malays seldom interchange social visits. They meet only at feasts (Kânduri). Each household remains secluded and isolated, the inmates have only their domestic cares to attend to and have scarcely any intercourse with their neighbours. Occasions for deceiving each other therefore seldom occur, their wants are few and mutual, and it becomes the duty of all to exert themselves for the common weal.

Deceit forms no part of their individual character, hence the prominent feature observable in them is truthfulness. Those that stray from their native campongs or permattangs and mix with the depraved inhabitants of the towns, although they soon acquire habits of lying seldom become adepts in it. Guilty of the most heinous crimes, they will tell the whole truth on being captured with the greatest simplicity, thereby implicating their associates and leading to the detection of offences that would otherwise defy all investigation. To their secludedness may be attributed another pleasing feature in their character which raises them in the estimation of an European,—viz, the absence of scurrility or obscenity in their language to each other, even when highly incensed. Words resembling abuse, or even uttered in an angry tone, will sting a Malay to the quick and extract a blow, whereas the weapon of a

Bengali or Kling is abuse. No abusive language appears indigenuous, and no immoral or lascivious words are in common use. From the natives of India and China they learn to abuse and convert their scurrilous expressions into their own language. If abusive words or epithets in Malay are examined they will be found to be mere translations of Chinese or Indian abuse. Any one accustomed to the vile language used towards each other by other Asiatics, would be agreeably pleased with the superiority of the Malay in this respect.

This detestation of abuse generally leads to those sad catastrophies so common on board ships. European officers accustomed to the abuse of Indian sailors and ignorant of the Malayan prejudices on this head, behave towards them as they are wont to do to the Bengalis or other natives, and abuse and strike them indiscriminately. The consequence is, the deadliest passions of the Malay are aroused and in revenge they wreak a fearful retribution on their oppressors. It is probable that a crew of Englishmen would resort to the same course, if similar treatment were pursued towards them. On the other hand, when the Malay is treated as a man and not a brute, he proves docile, faithful and industrious, and without exception superior to any eastern sailor afloat.

The writer sailed with a crew of Malays for nearly two years. They were merely monthly servants, and by pursuing a generous treatment towards them but few changes occurred among the men, and by exercising them constantly they became exceedingly expert at naval evolutions, and the use of small arms and great guns, to the admiration of all that witnessed them. Their smartness was favorably commented on by all the naval officers that they were employed under, amongst whom were Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, Commodore Keppel, Captain Rodney Mundy &c. Under fire they are cool and intrepid, obeying their officers' orders to the letter. All therefore depends on the conduct of the officers. In Borneo under Captain Mundy, two of the Phlegathon's Cutters accompanied the boats of H. M. Frigate "Iris" on two river expeditions. When under fire from stockades the Europeans in the frigate's boats got so excited that they sprang up, seized their muskets and opened fire on the enemy. In a moment their boats were whirled away by the current, got into confusion and did not regain their former position till the Borneons were

driven out of the forts. The Malays of the "Phlegethon" meanwhile steadily used their oars until the keel of the boat touched the bank under the stockade, when they sprang ashore and chased the enemy into the jungle. This occurred twice. Their ideas of honor border on the chivalrous. At the capture of the City of Brunai, the "Phlegethon" in advance, a very heavy fire was opened on her from the batteries, the crew manned their guns and patiently waited the orders of their officers to return the fire. A party of European small armed men belonging to some of Her Majesty's ships were on board, and they thought the black fellows would flinch, so they pushed the Malays aside and manned the pivot fore-castle 32 pounder; in the twinkling of an eye, every Malay had his knife unsheathed and declared they would stab the Europeans if the latter did not fall back. Fortunately Mr Ross, the commander of the "Phlegethon", witnessed the transaction from the paddle box and ordered the Europeans to relinquish their hold of the gun gear. This they did and the Malays worked the gun, keeping up a splendid fire till the steamer ran alongside the battery and took it. On this occasion there were two men killed and seven wounded on board the "Phlegethon." No man-of-war stationed in the Straits ought to be without Malays as they are invaluable on boat expeditions as pioneers and foragers.

The isolation of the Malay induces purity of mind. They are not addicted to those lascivious indulgences that degrade the natives of India and China. Their seclusion leads also to an excessive love of their families, and generally the rustic Malay is very attentive to his conjugal duties and in return expects the greatest devotion from his wife. Any neglect on her part will drive him to the verge of despair.

Their solitude, conducive of so many pleasant traits, unhappily fosters if it does not generate the singular idiosyncrasy of temperament that distinguishes them from all other Asiatics.

A Malay in his retirement views with jealousy any attentions of another man to his wife, and a fancied reciprocation on the woman's part leads to the direst results. He broods over the supposed injury and in revenge he is led to commit the most diabolical crimes. If provoked by his wife or her supposed paramour he will seize any weapons and kill all who fall in his way, his

wife, children, friends, or foes are all sacrificed. In Malayan states any man may dispatch a Pengamok—(one who runs amuck.)

Occupations—The Malays of Province Wellesley and Pinang may be divided into two classes, paddy planters and fishermen; the former reside on the permattangs or ridges of sand that run parallel to the sea on the island and mainland, and the latter dwell in campongs on the sea shore. These permattangs are evidently the ancient sea boundaries and show that the waters from time to time have receded. They consist of sand and shells and are bare of herbage; the hardy cocoapalm alone seems to thrive on their sterile crests. In Province Wellesley there are several ranges of permattangs at unequal distances from each other; on the island two or three ranges exist to the west and south, whilst on the north the sea breaks against the base of the hills and on the eastern side a flat plain of about five miles in width extends from the hills to the sea. Between the permattangs the diminutive rivers find their way and in many places the accumulation of sand on the beach prevents the fall of the river into the sea, the water therefore inundates the whole valley, and in the rainy season it is increased by heavy showers until the volume of water becomes too weighty for the bank which yields and the water flows off, leaving a deposit of rich alluvial soil. The Province is principally irrigated by small streams being impeded in their course and inundating the country; where the land is too high for the rivers to overflow their banks the fields are irrigated by conveying the water by ditches into the them.

On the island the planter depends more on rain, the fields are watered by canals as well, and where permattangs exist the paddy land is enriched by the water being confined between them.

Paddy Planters The life of a paddy planter is monotonous in the extreme and were it not for the amusements he indulges in his existence would be truly wretched. After the first fall of rain which indicates the approach of the wet season, his first care is to clear the fields of grass and weeds; this is done with an instrument called *tajak*; it resembles a scythe, the blade is short, heavy, and wedge-shaped and the handle is short and fixed at right angles to the blade. It is used with both hands, is raised above the head and brought down with a swing to the ground; its weight and

sharpness renders it a very effective instrument, it cuts down every thing as it falls and sinks several inches into the ground, uprootings the weeds. The latter are then drawn to the sides of the fields out of the way, and the ground is ploughed with a very primitive instrument called *tangala*, it is nothing but a crooked timber with a short and long leg, the former is pointed and shod with iron, the latter has a bar of wood fastened across the end to which men or buffaloes are yoked ; those that cannot afford cattle are obliged to dig their fields with spades. The ground is then cleared of any weeds that may be left with a rake or *pangaru* ; finally a curious roller, with six or seven sharp edges, resembling the cogs of a wheel, is drawn over the fields to crush the lumps of earth.

The work of the males now ceases; the women sow the grain in a nursery and when the plants are about a foot high, they are transplanted and put into the ground, about two feet apart, in bunches of three or four plants, and in regular rows about two or three feet apart, so that when the paddy grows up the fields may be easily traversed without injury to the plants. In about four months the paddy is fit for cutting, when the women and children reap and store it. The planter experiences much trouble as the paddy begins to ripen, and incessant watching is required to prevent birds picking the grains out of the ears by day, and pigs uprooting the plants by night, or trampling them down by running over them. Small watchhouses are erected on the outskirts of a field and in each a watchman takes his stand. From watchhouse to watchhouse lines are led, to which branches of trees, leaves, rags &c are attached and the watchers incessantly move these lines to frighten the birds away. The latter however soon get accustomed to the contrivance and cling to the ears of paddy most pertinaciously, until actually put to flight by the presence of women and children who go about the fields with branches of cocoanut leaves to drive the birds off; their labour is incessant and excessive, they run about the fields screaming and yelling, and some carry short sticks which they beat together to assist in frightening the birds. The birds that are most numerous and troublesome resemble the common house sparrow ; another species is a grey bird with a whitish head and a black ring round the neck.

If the fields happen to be near the jungle, horns are blown at

intervals during the night to frighten wild hogs off. Rats also do much harm by burrowing in the fields and thereby injuring the roots. The possession of a white rat is considered very fortunate; it is supposed to exert a strange influence over all others of his kind, and the owner believes that by placing him in a cage on the field no rat will hurt the paddy.

The paddy is usually stored in the ear and when rice is required for consumption a sufficient quantity is taken out of the storehouse and beaten on the ground till the grains are cleared from the stalks. They are then husked in a rice pounder or *alu* (literally a pestle). The latter is made from a short piece of timber about two feet high and eighteen inches in diameter, and hollowed out; in it the paddy is put and beaten with a beater made of wood about 4 feet long and five inches in diameter at the extremities, which are bound with iron, the centre is made small enough to be grasped by the hand;—the labour of husking paddy is also consigned to women. Those that possess much paddy land obtain a large supply of grain annually, but they merely store a sufficient quantity for the use of the family and the remainder they dispose of to wholesale dealers. A simple method of separating good from indifferent paddy is the following. A platform or stage is erected, about eight or ten feet from the ground, and when a moderate breeze is blowing the paddy is poured from the top of the stage, the wind carries away all the light useless grain and the good paddy falls on mats which are spread below the stage to receive it. After the paddy has been stored the labours of the men cease, the females husk the paddy and prepare food for their families, so that until the paddy planting returns, the males have nothing to do but amuse themselves. Those that have not enough ground to supply them with sufficient rice for the year, obtain a living by house-building, labouring on the sugar plantations and by following other avocations.

From the irregularity of the seasons it is impossible to say when sowing and reaping time begins or ends. In the months of May and June the fields are usually cleared and in July the paddy is sown; in a month or six weeks it is transplanted from the nursery or original beds to the fields, and in January or February it is cut and stored.

The indications of wet weather are occasionally so protracted that the fields are not weeded till June or July and sometimes later; when this occurs the plant has not time to mature and by the time the dry season sets in, it withers and dies. Such casualties might be prevented by artificial irrigation, but the Malay has not the inventive powers to substitute any means other than those nature has supplied him; he depends on the clouds for moisture, and if they fail to supply him, he bears his lot with patience as a decree of providence. The few Chinese that cultivate paddy set the Malays an example of perseverance and ingenuity which ought to serve as an incentive to exertion, but unfortunately the principles of fatalism are so ingrafted in the latter that nothing shakes them. The fields of the Chinese are always first cleared, sown and reaped; it is surprising with what skill they will convey water to the most inaccessible spots and render them fertile. Water is usually conveyed by ditches from neighbouring streams to where it is needed, and where a selfish neighbour's land intervenes the water flows through troughs made by dividing the nibong tree into two parts lengthways and scooping the pith out, and these canals are led round the boundary of the field so as not to interfere with the owner. A gentleman of Pinang is the fortunate possessor of extensive fields in the northern division of the Province and he also, like the Chinese, sets his neighbours an example of perseverance under difficulties, which would be taken advantage of by any but a Mahomedan community.

The weather deceives occasionally in another way; rain falls plentifully rather early in the year and forthwith the planter tills his land ready for the rainy season which he believes is at hand, but, poor fellow, he is doomed to be disappointed. After a month's rain the weather clears up and two or three months of scorching weather succeeds, the fields harden and when rain does come his labour has to be repeated, and probably the rains are so short that the plant has not time to reach its maturity and the crops fail. The Chinese on the other hand render themselves nearly independant of the weather. Too much rain is likewise injurious, so that when the rains are protracted beyond the usual time and the warm season is kept off, the plants do not furnish so good a crop as when the season is regular. This might be prevented by

drainage but on this head the Malay leaves all to his destiny.

A species of paddy used to be cultivated in dry fields and on high lands, called *paddy umah*, and very extensive clearings on the hills in the southern districts of Pinang are shown as abandoned paddy fields. At this day there appears to be no regular cultivation of it though a few patches are to be found four or five hundred feet above the level of the sea, planted by Chinese.

Under the class of paddy planters are included all cultivators of the soil. The proprietors of land which is unfit for paddy, cultivate fruit trees and derive a very large revenue from them. The trees that are most valuable are the cocoanut, durian and champaka; the mangosteen, rambutan, rambi and other fruit trees are also cultivated but not extensively. Spices and vegetables are confined to the Chinese; recent purchases of nutmeg plantations by wealthy Malays or rather half breeds have been made, though as a general rule Malays cultivate only paddy and fruit trees. Two-thirds of the Malays inhabiting Pinang and Province Wellesley are planters.

Fishermen.—The Malays naturally divide themselves into two classes; the first has been described. The second may be termed fishermen; they congregate on the sea shore in campongs or villages, either at the mouths of rivers or in positions favorable for fishing. In the northern division of the Province there are no less than nine extensive fishing villages; in the southern division there are only four at the entrance of the four rivers. Under this class boatmen and wood cutters may be included. Each village has its fishing stakes and a certain number of the inhabitants find employment in fishing; the remainder gain their livelihood by plying for hire from the main to the island and a few supply the market with firewood cut from the mangrove jungles that extend from the river Prye to the Krian river. On Pinang there are about twenty fishing villages and their inhabitants also divide themselves into fishermen, boatmen and wood-cutters. The Krah islands and Pulo Jarjah are inhabited solely by fisherman. The former means either Monkey islands or Rendevouz islands, the latter word Jarjah means the posts of a house.

The simple rod, line and hook is in general use and deep water fishing with a weight attached is also common, but they are used rather as a means of recreation than to catch fish for sale. The

Chinese fishmongers of George Town and the country villages contract with the Malays inhabiting Pulo Jarjah and other places for the fish daily exposed for sale in their shops. Chinese fishermen abound, but their labours seem confined to supplying their countrymen with salt fish and fish manure. Each fishing village has its acknowledged headman and a great deal of respect is shown him by the inhabitants. The Chief of Pulo Jarjah has amassed a fortune by his fishing speculations, he is the owner of several stakes and employs nearly all the inhabitants in watching them; he has erected some capital dwelling houses for himself and family and lives in style; he is treated in fact by his people as a petty Rajah and he exerts a powerful influence over them. His aged grandmother resides with him and has a perfect recollection of Captain Light and declares that the latter first taught the inhabitants of Pulo Jarjah how to catch fish in traps.

Fishing stakes or traps are of two descriptions, respectively called *blat* and *jermal*. The *blat* is thus constructed:—a line of stakes is set up across the tide-way in shallow water, and against them a screen made of split bambu or nibong is fixed to hinder the passage of fish between the stakes; at the end of the line to seaward the stakes shoot off on both sides at right angles and again incline inwards towards the main line, forming an inclosure into which the fish swims after being stopped by the screen, and once within the enclosure it is impossible to swim out; when the tide slackens they are taken out. The enclosures being made on both sides of the main line, one acts on the flood and the other on the ebb.

The *jermal* is similarly made except that instead of enclosures, large bag nets are used at the extremities; the net is suspended to the end of a pole which is balanced on a pivot; the fisherman have therefore very little trouble to raise the net, the latter has to be lowered and raised at intervals so that it is necessary for a number of men to be constantly stationed at the *jermal*. *Jermals* are fixed in 4 or 5 fathoms of water, the stakes are from forty to fifty feet long; they are constructed with great labour and danger.

The screen is thus fixed:—a great number of men go off in several boats with it, provided with split rattans to tie it to the stakes; when the screen has been stretched along the line the men go into the water and hold it out at convenient distances from each

other and at a given signal they dive and fasten the screen to the stakes.

Seine nets are used near the beach but they are not in general use among the Malays, the Chinese fish principally with them.

The shrimp catcher uses a small bag net fixed to a rod or handle; he pushes it against the stream for a few minutes and then raises it; at his side his basket floats in which he stores the fish he gets on the net.

Fish of various descriptions abound in the straits and either fresh or dried form the principal food of the natives.

MUSIC AND THE DRAMA.

The only resemblance to a theatrical representation among the recreations of the Malays is a raree or puppet-show, the only difference being that in a puppet-show the figures are seen and in this their shadows are. The show is called Wyang Kulit or leather puppets. It is exhibited in a rough shed which has a flooring raised about three or four feet from the ground; the building is usually twenty feet square and enclosed on three sides, the front alone being open, across this opening a white sheet is stretched on which the shadows of the puppets are thrown and seen through by the audience; the latter sit or stand in the open air.

The show seems to be of Hindu origin if we may judge from the strong resemblance the figures bear to the representations of gods and goddesses worshipped by the Hindus of India; it is probably obtained from Java. The figures are made of buffalo hide, and the arms alone are moveable, they are moved by slips of wood attached to them which are very clumsily contrived and as thin shadows are seen with the puppets the effect is very much destroyed. Various scenes of a domestic nature are exhibited and they take the shape of a play, but with no definite plot running through or connecting the different scenes. The following is a specimen:—an old man appears weeping for a long lost son, and moves to and fro for some time bewailing his loss,—the showman speaks each figure's part and alters the tone of his voice to suit the age of the speaker—a second figure comes on, representing a young man armed with a kris who endeavours to pick a quarrel with the

first comer, and the conversation is witty and characteristic, eliciting roars of laughter from the lookers on; a fight ensues and the old man is wounded, he falls and cries out that were he a young man or if his lost son were present his adversary should not thus triumph over him, in his conversation he happens to mention his son's name, the young man intimates that his name is the same, an explanation ensues and it ends by the old man discovering in his late adversary his long lost son. The old fellow weeps and laughs alternately, caresses his son frequently and declares they shall never part again, the scene ends by the youth shedding tears over his late inhuman conduct and he finally walks off with the old gentleman on his back. The conversation is carried on solely in the Malayan dialect.

Warlike scenes please the most; a warrior comes on the stage and challenges his invisible enemy to mortal combat, suddenly another figure comes on at the opposite side and a desperate fight ensues which lasts for a very long time and ends in one of the combatants being killed. Occasionally a battle in which ten or twelve figures join takes place and for hours will the Malays look on at such scenes. The show concludes with an exhibition of various animals—deer, horses, tigers, crocodiles &c., also birds and fishes.

The figures are perforated to represent the eyes, shape of the dress &c. At the back of the shed, concealed by the sheet, sit the musicians who keep up an incessant din on drums and cymbals.

A show called Myong is exhibited by men and boys, the latter disguise themselves as women so successfully that Malay youths have been known to fall in love with them, forsake their campons and wander for days in the train of the actors. The Myong appears to be of Siamese origin, none but natives of Siam engage in it. Music, composed of drums and brass instruments, accompany the performance, the former are beaten incessantly and the latter are struck at intervals, the brass instruments are simple hollow utensils but emit exceedingly pleasing sounds when struck. The actors dress in rich colors, and resemble Hindu gods; red is the principal color of the clothing and the head dresses and skirts are covered with gold and silver tinsel. The performance consists of all the actors moving about to the sound of the music and contorting their bodies into a variety of

postures far from pleasing; they do not speak in the dance but recitations take place during the evening's performance.

The Malays are exceedingly fond of music and many have acquired a tolerable knowledge of the violin and play their national tunes and many European airs correctly; the drum appears to be the only native instrument, and for hours will a party of Malays amuse themselves by reciting verses accompanied by its monotonous tones.

On the violin they will execute by ear all their own tunes and English jigs and Portuguese fandangoes and will dance to the tunes with as much spirit as an Englishman at a fair; reels and jigs they manage well and will go through the figures of a quadrille tolerably; it must be stated that the stolid country Malay seldom indulges in such amusements, those that reside near the Town and the Jawibukans are fond of imitating their European neighbours.

Malays have much of that natural wit so observable in the Irish, and it is a common custom to see a party of young fellows sit down and amuse themselves by what is vulgarly called chaff; to one that knows the language their repartee is exceedingly pleasing, and the peals of laughter that follow each speaker must be a proof to the ignorant that the conversation savours of fun.

Their poetry has been well described by Mr Crawford, and it is not worth while giving specimens of their poems or verses—they are called pantuns and are usually recited to one tune; they have numerous songs called lagu, sung to different airs, in which each verse is concluded by a chorus resembling our Faldiral fallal di dido &c. The subject has always some reference to passing events, and each verse is sung by a different person, which is followed by a chorus, far exceeding the verse in length, sung by the remainder of the company; the chorus usually runs thus and is untranslatable:—

Dendang dendang Ché Adek,
Dendang di dendang,
Dendang ladi dendang,
Dondang di dondang,
Ché Abang laladi ladi.

The airs are plaintive and consist of numerous semitones; they are exceedingly pleasing and excel in sweetness the Chinese and

Indian melodies. At festivals the drum and cymbals are the usual instruments employed, shrill pipes resembling the clarinet are introduced but they are always played on by natives of India. Although Malayan music abounds in semitones they are not numerous enough to destroy all traces of a regular melody as is so remarkable in Chinese music. Malayan tunes are capable of being easily adapted to European music, and a musician of Singapore has set several for the piano and other instruments, and they prove as popular as Jullien's productions.

Malays are so fond of musical sounds that they very ingeniously provide themselves with an instrument or rather instruments which furnish them with unceasing strains of harmony. A branch or sprig of bambu is fixed on a pivot at the end of a long pole, which is stuck in the ground with the sprig in the air, the latter is set in motion by the wind and produces a clear full toned note, the size of the branch alters the tone, and when a number of such contrivances are erected of different sizes they produce a chord of musical notes nearly perfect; their taste and ear is so correct that discordant tones are seldom heard; the sounds of these whirligigs are heard fully half a mile off, and as the breeze lessens or increases so the notes swell or subside, pleasing the ear; each village or campong has its Æolian band, so that the traveller catches the notes of the one he approaches as he loses the strains of the one left behind.

Their love of music is so deep set that they may be induced to work hard for several hours without flagging or uttering a word of dissatisfaction, if allowed to gratify their passion for music by singing while at work or having a musical instrument played to them. A boat's crew will pull seventy miles, with scarcely any cessation, if allowed to sing, and the notes of a fiddle will keep Malay lascars at work for several days and nights without a murmur, and during that period they will rest merely to get their meals and sleep only for an hour or two at night; if it is not usual to have fiddles on board country ships manned with Malays the experiment ought to be tried, and the writer feels sure the plan would be profitable. While paddling in their native boats they sing and beat time to the measure by striking their paddles against the gunwale of the boat, occasionally the melody ceases

whilst the regular beat of the paddle on the boat is prolonged to assist in keeping the paddlers together; they also vary the time by altering the method of beating—thus, they strike once, rest awhile and then strike twice rapidly before each stroke, or they beat three times at regular intervals, rest for a few seconds and then pull, or they paddle very fast striking the gunwale after each stroke of the paddle, or they paddle three times and then stop for a few seconds; one method is exceedingly pretty, it is called *burong turbang* or birds flying, it is done by paddling very rapidly with or without striking the boat after the stroke, and by each puller throwing the water he brings up on his paddle into the air away from the boat so as not to sprinkle those in the boat. To their musical taste may be attributed their methodical way of paddling and keeping time; unmusical people like the Chinese and some of the tribes of Hindustan care little about pulling together in a boat; by doing so they not only make it inconvenient for themselves but also retard considerably the progress of the boat.

In the rivers the original canoe is still used, but for crossing the strait it has been abandoned for the Chinese shoeboat; the latter alone is used for ferrying people to and fro.

Allusion has been made to the offspring of Malay mothers and Kling or Bengali fathers; they are called *Jawi bukans*, *Jawi pukans*, and *Jadi bukans* indiscriminately, the last term is most commonly used in Pinang. The children of Chinese by Malays come under the same designation when they adopt the mother's nation, but those that follow their father's are termed *Babas*. It is difficult to ascertain which is the right epithet or the origin of the terms; the first means literally "not a Malay," the second, "the Malay of the village," and the last "not made" or "is not made."

Jawibukan appears to be the right term and no doubt was originally used by the Malays to distinguish the half breeds from themselves; "*Jawi pukan*" might also have been early used to distinguish the inhabitants of the towns from those of the country; and the last term appears to be a corruption of either, it is however the usual name given to all half breeds except those that adopt the Chinese customs. The *Jawibukans* possess all the courage of the mother combined with the activity, intelligence and cunning

of the father; they easily acquire habits of business, prove smart traders, and a great number have amassed considerable fortunes; they compete successfully with European and Chinese Merchants, and of course gain a great ascendancy over their fellow countrymen. Those of the poorer classes possess the same good qualities, but chance affords the one an opportunity of rising to opulence while the other sinks into the drunkard or opium smoker; with few exceptions they are all addicted to the above vices as well as gaming; they prove the smartest seamen and policemen, but unfortunately their predilections render them untrustworthy. They are plucky and it is no uncommon sight to see a Jawibukan engage in a stand-up fight with an European seaman or soldier; they are mischievous and fond of pilfering but withal under strict discipline they are preferable to the real Malay or native of India; they are generally taller and handsomer than their progenitors, but equally muscular and lighter about the lower limbs which improves them. They however deteriorate in the second or third generation and are then too slight in build for arduous employments and usually gain a livelihood as menials.

In this stage they possess all the bad the qualities of their paternal relatives to the exclusion of Malayan virtues, they become invariably sots, opium smokers, gamblers, brothel keepers, cheats, and in fact the vilest of the vile. From the above remarks it may easily be perceived that the Malays have no prejudices of caste; their women will live with natives of any nation.

The Jawibukans are addicted to making vows; as a return for any particular gratification they promise to undergo certain penances, pilgrimages &c., which they scrupulously fulfill; this custom is derived from their fathers. They join heart and soul in all the amusements of the Mohuram and Dusserah festivals and will perform every species of buffoonery for the purpose of obtaining money.

They disguise themselves in a variety of ways to prove amusing, some dress as beggars of various nations, others as birds and beasts; some of them study the habits and movements of wild beasts so well, especially the tiger, that their imitations of the brute are splendid; some assume the attire of Europeans and dance various fashionable dances including the polka, their performances

are rewarded by showers of cents principally subscribed by Europeans and Portuguese who are attracted out on such occasions; their love of fun and devilry leads them to imitate burlesquely all the ceremonies observed by the Mahomedans and Hindus of India, to the amusement of bystanders. They also form bands, led by some desperate fellows, and attack parties of Klings or Bengalies who may be devoutly parading with their images; the attack begins in fun but eventually ends in blows and even bloodshed; the principal work of the Police is to watch these bands of Jawibukans who issue from their houses merely for the purpose of annoying the real devotees. Such scenes are despised by the Malays, they will not join in them nor will the most respectable portion of them visit the town during the celebration of heathen festivals,—no milder term can they apply to the orgies of the Mohorum, and they identify them with all other heretical rites.

GAMES AND PASTIMES.

“Sepa Raga.” [Literally to kick wicker work.]—Childish games are unknown. A pastime resembling the English foot-ball is indulged in by Malays as they approach manhood. It is called *Sepa Raga*, and is the only game that appears indigenous, or it may have been obtained from the Siamese. It is a common pastime in Birmah but unknown on the continent of India.

The game is played with a ball of wicker work, which is very light and elastic, and is merely an exhibition of skill and activity. It does not require the strength and courage so requisite in the English game of foot-ball. The players are unlimited in number and stand in a circle about six feet apart from each other. The ball is thrown into the air and on its descending one of the players strikes it back again with his hand, foot, elbow or knee; sometimes the ball descends beyond the circle and is dexterously struck back again with the sole of the foot without the player changing his position. If the players are active and expert at the game the ball may be kept from touching the ground for a considerable time.

As the Malay approaches a town inhabited by natives of India and China, he learns from them their pastimes. The following game is derived from the Klings. The players divide themselves

into two parties, a parallelogram is described on the ground, divided into as many squares as half the number of players. The squares are so large that it is impossible for a person standing in the centre to be touched by the one in charge of the square who is restricted to the times and is not allowed to enter the square. The figure bears some resemblance to that used in "Hop Scotch."

One party stands outside the figure and the other takes possession of it; each square is guarded by one of the players. The object of the outsiders is to run through the figure untouched by their adversaries; if they fail the insiders leave the figure and take the place of those outside. It is a very exciting game and one that requires great agility.

Deer Catching.—This pastime is one the Malay delights in. After a rainy night deer may be easily traced to their lair by their foot prints, and as they remain stationary by day the hunters have ample time to arrange their apparatus.

When the hiding place is discovered all the young men of the campong assemble and the following ceremony is performed before they sally out on the expedition. Six or eight coils of rattan rope about an inch in diameter are placed on a triangle formed with three rice pounders, and the oldest of the company, usually an experienced sportsman, places a cocoanut shell filled with burning incense in the centre and taking sprigs of three bushes viz. the Jellatang, Sapunie and Sambon plants, (these, it is supposed, possess extraordinary virtues), he walks mysteriously round the coils beating them with the sprigs and erewhile mutters some gibberish which, if possessing any meaning, the sage keeps wisely to himself. During the ceremony the youths of the village look on with becoming gravity and admiration. It is believed that the absence of this ceremony would render the expedition unsuccessful, the deer would prove too strong for the ropes and the wood demons frustrate their sport by placing insurmountable obstacles in their way. Much faith appears to be placed in the ceremony.

Each coil referred to above is sixty to seventy fathoms long and to the rope running nooses, made also of rattan rope, are attached about three feet apart from each other. On reaching the thicket wherein the deer are concealed, stakes are driven into the ground a few feet apart in a straight line, the coils are then opened

out and the rope attached to the stakes, two or three feet above ground, with the nooses hanging down and two of the party conceal themselves near the stakes armed with knives for the purpose of dispatching the deer when entangled in the nooses. The remainder of the hunters arrange themselves on the opposite side of the thicket and advance towards it shouting and yelling at the top of their voices. The deer startled from their rest spring to their feet and naturally flee from the noise towards the nooses and in a short time are entangled in them. As they struggle to escape the concealed hunters rush out and dispatch them. Occasionally the fight is prolonged till the major party arrives and then the noble creatures soon fall beneath the spears and knives of their assailants. The animal is divided between the sportsmen; the writer has often partaken of a tit-bit but never relished the flesh, it being generally too fresh. A breed of deer has spread over Pinang from a tame herd that one of the former governors released on his leaving the island.

Tiger Shooting and Trapping.—Fire-arms are in common use and some Malays amuse themselves with bird shooting. They however usually prefer large game and many are exceedingly bold and expert in killing tigers. It is said that a tiger becomes extremely fierce and bloodthirsty when once he has tasted human blood and will seek his prey in the most crowded campongs and will watch a house night after night in the hope of catching a man. A remarkable instance fell under the writer's observation. Several men had been killed at a village in Province Wellesley by the same tiger and for several nights he had been heard prowling about the houses regardless of cattle and dogs that fell in his way. He was evidently bent on catching one of the inhabitants; finding at length that the villagers kept close, he actually sprang at the door of a house at night, burst it open, seized a man from his bed and walked off with him. At daylight he was traced by his foot-prints into the jungle and the body of the man was found partly devoured. A famous shot, one Eting, a samsam (or cross between a Malay and Siamese) was in the neighbourhood and he proposed that the remains of the poor fellow should be kept in the house as the tiger would be sure to return for a second meal. This was done and over the door of the house a strong platform was erect-

ed on which Eting took his station with his guns. Sure enough the tiger a little after nightfall returned to the house and was shot through the head. Tigers are frequently caught in traps—the most common is the pit trap which is used in all parts of India. A deep pit is dug and the bottom staked with sharp pointed staves. The mouth of the pit is concealed by branches and leaves and the bait (a dog generally) is tied to a bar over the centre. The tiger in prowling about discovers the bait, naturally springs at it and alights on the stakes, he is often pierced through by them—if not he is easily dispatched with long spears.

Another trap employed in catching tigers, resembles the figure of four traps used by school boys. The trap is made with poles cut from the jungle; the part or lid that falls is laden with logs till rendered so heavy that the largest brute is unable to raise it. The lid is held up by an upright post so placed that the slightest push will remove it. To this upright post the bait is fixed, which the tiger seizes and in endeavouring to drag it away, he pulls the post aside and brings the lid down. To prevent the lid crushing the animal a cross bar is placed on posts a sufficient height off the ground to protect the brute but not leaving room enough to permit him to rise; his captors then introduce their hands into the trap and tie his legs together and to prevent him biting a piece of wood is lashed across his mouth. The lid is removed and the animal is so powerless that he may be easily removed in a basket or slung to a pole. In this fashion he is carried to town and disposed of. No fixed reward is paid by government for the tigers destroyed but the fortunate sportsmen are enabled to dispose of them for a handsome sum. Chinese are the usual purchasers; to them the claws, teeth, flesh and bones are invaluable. The two former are strung on threads and worn about the person, or treasured in their houses as charms, the bones are calcined and ground to a fine powder and used as medicine in various diseases and the flesh is eaten to render them brave and hardy. The skin generally falls to the lot of an European. It occasionally happens that the master of a merchantman purchases a tiger for the English market and then the hunters reap a golden harvest. A tiger is usually sold for five and twenty or thirty dollars. In Province Wellesley they are numerous and may be frequently met on the public roads, they

occasionally swim across to Pinang but seldom escape detection. If they should be fortunate enough to reach the jungle they are soon discovered and killed. In 1852, one was killed at the foot of the hills which from its appearance had been a long while on the island. An alarm is raised at intervals that tigers do exist on the island but there appears to be no reasonable grounds for the belief. The jungle is traversed in all directions by Malays and Chinese, and if a find of tigers did exist they would certainly fall in with them oftener.

Divorce.—If a man is dissatisfied with his wife and wishes to put her away, he has only to tell her so, using the word Talak or divorce at the same time in the presence of witnesses.

Should the man change his mind after giving the Talak once or twice, the wife is not at liberty to leave him, but should he repeat the word three times the separation must take place, and they may not reside together again unless the woman be married and divorced from another man, or left a widow.

Words are not necessary to constitute a divorce, it is sufficient for the husband to give the wife three articles of a similar nature, such as three cents or three pieces of wood, three pebbles or three lumps of earth, and the divorce is rendered as binding as if written or spoken.

Three months and ten days is the period allowed for a man to consider the subject, after giving the Talak less than three times. At the end of that time should he have changed his mind he may take his wife back, in the presence of witnesses. If he does not she is at liberty to marry again.

The facilities afforded by the Mahomedan religion to divorce may also be a pre-disposing causes to amoks. A man observes the neglect of his wife, knows how easily she may be separated from him and broods over the result and may be led into the state of mind before described.

Fatalism, which is also a doctrine of the Koran, is another cause of amok. A Mahomedan never checks his feelings or actions, he considers them inevitable and rushes headlong into any course they may dictate. Nothing would check amoks more than punishments that would subject the Pengamok to a fate opposed to his long cherished ideas. A Malay regards death as a slight punishment

if he runs amok. Banish death then and inflict a punishment that a Mahomedan's prejudices most revolt at, and it is probable the crime would disappear from the Calendar. No remedy would be more effectual than a public whipping, inflicted periodically, say once in three months, in the village where the crime was committed and the performance of some menial duty in the same place.

There is perhaps more method in the madness of a Malay than we dream of. It is probable that if a Pengamok escapes detection after the committal of the deed in Malayan countries for several months, he is not prosecuted and is allowed to remain unmolested. This must be so if we may judge from the number of criminals who are allowed to reside at Kuala Mudah in the Quedah territory. Men have been pointed out to the writer as well known murderers and yet are allowed to dwell peaceably in the village. A certainty of punishment deters the Malay. The crime is nearly unknown in the ranks of the Ceylon Rifles and among the Malays settled at Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope, where escape is impossible. Pensioners from the Rifles state that within the last 20 years only one case occurred, but the crime was committed by a Chinese who enlisted into a Company of that Regiment when stationed at Hongkong.

The case of the woman is far different; if she be inclined to leave her husband the process is not quite so simple if the man object. Should he object to give the Talak she is obliged to go to the Kali and sue for a divorce. The Kali issues his summons for the husband to attend and she is forced to state her reasons for seeking a separation and prove them before he can divorce them. Three causes are considered justifiable reasons for sanctioning a Divorce.

First.—Ill-treatment on the husband's part towards the wife.

Secondly.—If the husband refuses to support the wife, and

Lastly.—If the man is an imbecile and incapable.

All these charges must be substantiated before the Kali, and as those individuals are not over scrupulous, a few dollars effect the woman's object.

Divorces are so easily accomplished that the most abominable licentiousness is promoted and the fine feelings that characterize the union of the sexes under the Christian dispensation are unknown.

These frequent Divorces and Marriages cause the greatest confusion at the death of an intestate person, and the herculean labours that devolve on the officers of the Ecclesiastical Court in the Straits Settlements, on the distribution of property, are unknown save to those who have witnessed the care and trouble required to ferret out the wives and children of persons who die without wills. The following instance will suffice to show how troublesome it is to deal with the Mahomedan Law.

About two years ago a man died leaving a few thousand dollars and some landed property. It was necessary to divide it between all the children of deceased. The man's death was notified in the Gazette for three months, and three women came forward and claimed a share for their ten children, they had been lawfully married to the deceased and had been separated years before his death and were married to other men. Clear proofs were produced that the children were born whilst the women cohabited with deceased, all appeared satisfactory and the Registrar of the Court (A. J. Kerr, Esq.) was about to dispose of the property and close his accounts when a fourth woman appeared with a boy nearly 20 years old. She declared herself to be the first wife of the deceased, that she had resided with him for seventeen years and then separated, and she had lived with another individual for many years—about eighteen. Some delay ensued as the proof of her marriage was requisite to entitle the boy to a share of the property. After some days the woman returned and said that the Kali that had married her was dead and she could not get a certificate. It is probable the lad and his mother would have lost their share if the last wife had not generously owned that before his death the deceased had acknowledged the boy to be his son, although he had not seen the mother for many years. The boy, however, had lived in his house as a menial and had attended on the old man in his last illness, he therefore was put on the list of children and his rights acknowledged. After all the trouble and subsequent to the distribution of the property there was no certainty that half a dozen other wives and children would not turn up.

Young men of 30 to 35 years of age may be met with, who have had from 15 to 20 wives, and children by several of them. These women have been divorced, married others and had families by

them. Fathers usually provide for their own children, but it sometimes happens that the children of a woman fall to the lot of her last husband.

A circumstance occurred in the writer's knowledge which will clearly display the lax views Malays have of the married state. The wife of a Malay gentleman suspecting her lord guilty of undue familiarity with a young girl of the same village, resolved to revenge herself by openly putting the rival to shame; she accordingly invited several females, including the girl, to a repast, and in the presence of all assembled accused the former of an improper connection with her husband. The girl replied indignantly, an altercation ensued and it ended by the enraged wife seizing the girl by the hair and beating her with a slipper. The outrage gave great offence to the relatives of the girl, and in retaliation they started for the Police to obtain a summons and drag the offender before the Magistrate and public. The husband took the alarm, and to avoid the shame and at the same time pacify the girl's friends, he promised to marry her and divorce his wife. This he did, gave the latter the Talak and married the girl. At the expiration of a month, to the astonishment of all, he divorced her and retook the former wife asserting that he had intentionally given her the single Talak. As the whole affair was perfectly legal the poor girl's family could do no more and were obliged to submit to the degradation.

Meals.—The Malay breaks his fast at daybreak with some light food, and those that can afford it imbibe coffee or tea, the former is preferred.

Between 8 and 10 A. M. the first regular meal is eaten, boiled rice forms the staple dish, the usual addition being burnt salt fish or sambal. During the day food is seldom touched, and the second meal is eaten between 7 and 10 P. M. No difference is perceptible in the food used at the two meals. Rice, salt fish, gulie or curry and sambal are the principal dishes found at a Malayan feast.

The gulie or curry of the poor is a very simple dish; it consists of the principal ingredient—be it fish, flesh, or fowl—and some sliced chillies, onions and ginger, the milk of the cocoanut being sometimes added; the last is obtained by bruizing or rasping the kernel of an old cocoanut and squeezing the juice therefrom.

Sambals are invariably used instead of curry with rice. The principal ingredient in a sambal is belachang, which is a condiment prepared from shrimps and small fish, to it is added a thousand articles of food and these sambals are exceedingly palatable.

In the fruit season scarcely anything else is eaten, and from morning to night man, woman, and child may be seen, eating durians, mangostins, champadas (a species of jack,) and other fruits. The durian is considered exceedingly nutritious and is much prized, and although nauseous to an European palate on the first introduction, the dislike is generally overcome and he enjoys them eventually as much as a native.

The most common preparation of rice is called "nasi pulut" which is made in three ways.

First the Pulut Pangang, which is thus prepared.

A sufficient quantity of uncooked rice is well washed and steeped in water for about half an hour; the water is then poured off and the rice is put in an open basket and steamed over a pot of boiling water.

When half cooked the rice is thrown into cocoanut milk and allowed to soak for some time, it is then enclosed in pieces of plantain leaf and roasted over a slow fire.

Pulut Inti is similarly prepared but is not roasted.

Pulut Cachow is also prepared in the same way, except that after the rice has been steamed it is mixed with cocoanut milk and syrup and poured into moulds and cooled, it is then cut into various shapes and served up as confectionary. Poor Malays live principally on rice pulut and fried plantains.

Those better off indulge in rich curries with their rice, which resemble the curries of India. They are thus prepared;—each ingredient is first ground into a pulp; the more numerous the ingredients the more palatable will the curry be; turmeric, onions, garlic, chillies, coriander and other aromatic seeds, and tamarind are the principal; a little of each is thrown into boiling grease or oil, with vegetables, fish or flesh, and simmered over the fire till cooked, to it is added cocoanut milk or lime juice as a relish.

Malays are not at all particular as to their companions at meals, they may be seen feeding with Chinese, Indians and Europeans; a few of the very devout, especially those that have visited the

Holy Land, are more exclusive. The Hinduized Mahomedans of Bengal are so particular that they will not sit at meals with the votaries of any other creed; those that gain a livelihood by serving Europeans on board ships are looked upon as outcasts, and on quitting the sea they have to pay largely for certain religious ceremonies that must be undergone ere their countrymen will admit them into their circles again. The only distinction a Malay draws is between the sexes; men and women never feed together, the former eat first and then the females partake of their meals. There is very little ceremony observed at Malayan feasts. The rice is put in a large plate or bowl, with dried fish or curry in small cups which are placed on a mat spread on the floor, and four or five eat of the same dish, each helping himself to curry as needed.

Water is always placed handy in pots.

The rich enjoy their meals with more luxury. If the family be large several mats are spread in the hall and one or more water jars are placed near, curries and sambals are put in small earthen saucers and placed on a brass tray which is put on a pedestal or stand, and plates sufficient for all are placed on the mats. The guests and males of the family sit in groups, and a bowl of water is brought for each to dip his hand in ere he commences his meal, rice is heaped upon each plate and the curries and sambals are partaken of as required; small earthen spoons are placed on the tray on the side of each sambal dish.

Water is handed round in brass or earthen pots with spouts like teapots and drank out of China cups, glass tumblers, or from a small brass bowl cup which is used to cover the mouth of the water pot. Plates, knives, forks and spoons of Europe are now commonly used.

After meals, or on entertaining a visitor, the siri holder is produced, the latter has generally a tray fitted on the top which is divided into several compartments, containing the ingredients used with the siri; they are—prepared white lime, betelnut cut into small pieces, and gambier; portions of each are wrapped in the siri leaf, well masticated and the debris ejected; tobacco is masticated by a great number.

Light refreshments are also presented to guests consisting of tea, cakes &c.

Dress.—There is but little variety in the dress of Malays; both sexes wear clothing of the same description with a slight difference. Men wear the baju, sarong, sluar and saputangan. Women wear the same, except the sluar or breeches; the latter they probably do in another sense, equally with their European sisters. In addition they wear the cabaya—a long cloak with sleeves.

The principal and universal article of dress is the sarong. Girls are clothed at an earlier age than boys, the latter are allowed to revel in a state of nature, till well advanced in years. At the age of ten or eleven, girls assume the baju; till they do so the sarong is worn up to the armpits so as to conceal the breasts.

Children are very gaily appareled on festive occasions and much money is expended in gold ornaments for their decoration.

The Saputangan, (literally hand wipe) worn by men on their heads, resembles the English handkerchief in size and shape, and is of various colors; the designs stamped on them are of curious patterns. Much rivalry is exhibited with regard to this portion of the attire among young men and large prices are paid for handsome patterns; those brought from Sumatra are highly prized.

They are prepared in Pinang, and a handkerchief that could be stamped by machinery in a few seconds, requires a month's labour to complete. White cotton cloth of suitable texture is obtained and cut into pieces of eighteen inches square. The pattern or design is then neatly sketched on each piece, and they are steeped in a strong dye of whatever color the ground is to be; such parts that are to be dyed of a different color are overlaid with a coating of Beeswax. After eight or ten days the handkerchiefs are taken out of the dye and dried, the wax is removed from those parts that are to be of a different color and melted wax is poured over the parts last dyed, this process is repeated until the handkerchief is finished, it is then cleared of all the wax and sold at a very exorbitant price. Three to four dollars is the price for these, but withal the sum scarcely repays the labourer for the time expended on the work. The common printed calicoes imported from Europe are much used for their cheapness, they cost about thirty cents each.

The Saputangan is worn in a hundred different styles and much

taste is displayed in the way it is placed on the head. Certain localities are distinguished by the manner in which the inhabitants wear their Saputangans, and a man may be recognised as a native of this or that place by the manner in which he fixes his kerchief.

It is generally folded in a triangular shape and laid on the head with the apex of the triangle over the brow, the other ends are then brought forward, crossed over the forehead, taken back and tucked in under the folds according to the taste of the wearer, sometimes one end is concealed and the other left exposed, sometimes both ends are concealed or exposed.

The point left over the brow is raised and tucked in or left standing. To save trouble the Saputangan is frequently stiffened with starch and pinned into shape and resembles the Persian head dress.

The baju is a jacket and varies in shape, some are made like seamen's singlets fitting the body close, with or without sleeves, and are worn by both sexes. Some bajus are cut like English jackets with stand up collars and plain sleeves; others have slashed sleeves with buttons on the fronts and cuffs. The fop expends large sums in handsome gold buttons for his baju. The sluar or trowser is made very large at the waist and small at the feet, a broad hem is sewn at the waist through which a string is passed by which it is fastened round the body. Sluars are of various shapes.

The Sluar Panjang or long trowsers has long legs nearly touching the ground.

Sluar Pendek or short trowsers reach the thigh only.

Sluar China are the loose silk trowsers worn by Chinese.

The nautical Malay adopts the English trowsers, and wears them so tight to the skin, that every movement on his part threatens to send the buttons flying.

The sarong is a piece of cloth about four yards long and two and a half or three feet wide, the two ends are sewn together; it is invariably of checked patterns—red and black are the most prominent colors. It is worn round the waist, gown fashion; it is drawn tight over the hips and twisted into a knot in front.

Women wear it in the same way and instead of screwing it into a knot, it is neatly folded or doubled in the front and is secured by a waist chain of silver called Tali pinding.

When women are in *deshabille* it is worn alone and over the breasts.

Both sexes use it as a sleeping garment, this custom is adopted by many Europeans.

It is worn in more ways than it is possible to describe ;—sometimes it is thrown carelessly over one shoulder, across the body and under the opposite arm, out of doors it is used as a veil to screen the wearer from the rays of the sun. When on a journey it is rolled round the waist tightly as a girdle and assists in supporting the frame.

In the presence of females the opposite sex are obliged to wear it in the usual way so as to conceal the lower part of the body and it is difficult to persuade a Malay to wear trowsers without a sarong ; it is considered the height of indelicacy to appear before a female without the sarong.

In their own states the Malays never appear unarmed, and it is customary to conceal the kriss or dagger with the sarong ; it is a grievous insult to uncover it in the presence of an equal or superior.

The Cabaya is a long waisted Jacket, reaching the ancles. It resembles the long cloak worn by the Arab or Persian, though never made of such coarse cloth ; its use is restricted to women and it is usually made of spotted chintz or silk and is fastened in front with gold brooches ; neither shoes nor sandals are commonly used.

Those that have accomplished the pilgrimage to Mecca always wear the Turban and flowing robes of the Arab, with a view to impress their countrymen with their superiority and impose on them if necessary. It is extraordinary how the Malay respects a Haji (one who has visited Mecca and Medina) irrespective of his private character.

Out door labourers wear a tricornered hat made of the nipa leaf to shade them from the heat.

A small black skull cap is worn by aged Malays instead of the saputangan.

The mixed races, namely the offspring of Kling, Bengali and Chinese fathers and Malay mothers, adopt portions of the costume worn by both parents so that a description of the dress worn by all natives in the Straits Settlements that are classified as Malays would be a description of the apparel of Klings, Bengalis and Chinese.

The gold ornaments worn by women and children strongly resemble Chinese and Indian jewellery and it is remarkable that the natives of Sumatra who dwell in Pinang and Province Wellesley never indulge in such varieties. The writer therefore restricts himself to those portions of the dress that appear to him to belong exclusively to the Malay, and they have been particularized above; the only jewels worn by women that appear to be of Malayan origin are the hair pins and brooches.

Men wear the hair cropped close and frequently the head is shaved. Women wear their hair long and dress it back from the forehead twisted into a knot at the back, the knot is pierced through by several pins and thus kept from untwisting; common black pins are used by the real Malays, but Jawibukans or Jawipukans—the offspring of the Malay and other Indian races—have gold pins surmounted by curiously wrought tops.

Children of both sexes usually wear necklaces of gold beads, also anklets, armlets and bracelets. As soon as a girl is married she is bound to discard all ornaments.

The young Malays, who may be educated by Europeans, adopt the trowsers, socks, shirts and boots of their teachers and to show that they are not completely converted, they wear the cabaya or rather the loose Arab cloak and turban, which renders their attire rather picturesque.

Religion.—Malays profess the Mahomedan religion and as the doctrines of that faith are so familiar it would be a waste of time to enumerate them. The following remarks refer only to customs peculiar to Malays in connection with their religious persuasion.

A species of Hierarchy did at one time exist among them but at present each Musjid (or Mosque) has its own government and is independant of all others.

The Hierarchy was thus constituted. A Kali or head priest governed the whole country, appointed his own prelates, granting them written orders to officiate in his stead, and stationed them in every village. Those only that had warrants from the Kali were recognised by the people as their spiritual chiefs.

In Province Wellesley the Kali of Tellok-ayer-tawar still arrogates to himself this supremacy or popeship, but there are many Hajis bold enough to establish themselves as independant ministers,

and they are resorted to by a great number who are wise enough to treat the Kali's threats with indifference. Many Hajis may be met with to this day bearing the official warrant or commission of the Kali of Tellok-ayer-tawar.

In Pinang the same power was once exerted by the late Haji Macawi of Batu Uban, and now an Arab or a man of Arab descent, named Abdul Gunny is endeavouring to gain the ascendancy but the spirit of liberty is abroad and it is probable he will never succeed.

The Hierarchy above alluded to has been subverted in two ways ; first by the Malays discovering that their priests had no power to execute their punishments under our rule, and secondly the local authorities have for some time refused to acknowledge any chief among the priests, leaving the people to choose their own religious teachers. Such a course if persevered in will do much to ruin the Mahomedan religion.

To regain the thousands that have in a manner forsaken their church, Abdul Gunny has formed a league and many have joined him. They bind themselves by an oath to obey implicitly the teaching of the Koran, and on no account to neglect the ancient usages of Mahomedans, they also promise to keep aloof from those that do not join them, or those that do and subsequently forsake them, they are not to attend feasts held by those that are not in the league, and above all they are not to attend the funerals of those that do not join them. The last provision induces more to join than any other rule, as there is nothing a Mahomedan dreads more than being treated with disrespect after death.

Abdul Gunny has an immense number of followers who hold him in the greatest reverence and to them his word is law ; fortunately he appears an inoffensive man but such influence exerted by a bad man might lead to the most serious results. To counteract Abdul Gunny's league, a very powerful party exists of men who may be called Freethinkers ; educated enough to see the folly of blindly yielding to the will of others, and courageous enough to treat Abdul Gunny's threats with contempt. The leaders of the radical party are the wealthiest men in the place, and are much respected by their countrymen though regarded in the light of indifferent Mahomedans.

No course of study is requisite to qualify a man for the highest office in the Church, nor is it necessary that the priest shall have accomplished the pilgrimage to Arabia, but any knave with sufficient courage and cunning, with a good address and assumed sanctity, may attain the highest post.

The Musjids are either public or private; the former are constructed by voluntary contributions on ground ceded by the Government to the Mahomedan community. A Committee of influential men manage the secular business of the Church. In addition to the voluntary contributions of the faithful, people are allowed to build on the spare ground attached to the mosque by paying a monthly rent, there are also fees levied for the performance of religious rites. The revenue thus derived is expended in supporting the Priests, lighting the Musjids and keeping the buildings in repair.

Private Musjids are built by those who believe that such munificence entitles them to an extra share of Mahomed's protection, and a sure entrance into Paradise.

The highest rank in the priesthood is the Kali. He has the power to marry and divorce, in excess of the common duties of a Priest. and may delegate his authority to others as stated above. To enforce the attendance of witnesses and those accused he issues summonses and his orders are generally obeyed with fear and trembling by the poor and ignorant.

Each Musjid has the following personages attached to it—viz., the Imam, Katib, Bilal and Siak.

The Imam leads the congregation in the religious services on Fridays and reads the Koran and other books at festivals. He can perform all the Kali's duties with the latter's permission. The Katib is an assistant Priest with similar powers to the Imam.

The Bilal's duty is to announce the approaching day of prayer on Thursday Eve and early on Friday morning from the Minarets of a mosque. He is selected generally for his loud voice and it is surprising how distinctly he may be heard all over the town calling on all the followers of Mahomed to bestir themselves and spend the day in prayer as all good Mahomedans should. The invitation is readily responded to and from all quarters the young and old may be seen hastening to the mosque to pay their early sacrifice.

The Siak performs all menial duties, attends to the comfort of the devout, sweeps and illuminates the mosque, washes and clothes corpses and assists the priests as required.

An inferior grade in the priesthood is the Lebby or reader; he never conducts any rite but acts as an assistant and may read religious books at feasts and at private residences when required.

The priests and their attendants receive no fixed salaries but are paid from the revenue of the mosque and receive presents at each rite or ceremony from those at whose request it is performed. On the 27th day of the fast month, a collection of rice is made from each householder, and the quantity collected is divided between the Imam and his assistants.

Five times a day must the Mahomedan pray, and the twenty-four hours are thus divided as seasons of prayer.

First, called Subo, from 4 A. M.

Second, Loho, from 1 P. M.

Third, Asa, from 2 P. M. to sunset.

Fourth, Mugrib, from sunset.

Fifth, Isa (Jesus) from 7 P. M. to the hour of Subo.

The Malay distinguishes his periods of the day by the above terms; to him the hours are unknown, but if he has to describe an event, he will say it occurred at the hour of Loho or Isa, and as the time of prayer extends over several hours, it is impossible to fix on the exact hour at which the event he is describing occurred; if he finds himself misunderstood his last resource is to point to the heavens to show the height of the sun or moon to denote the hour; or he will say it happened at the first crowing of the cock, this is also an uncertain indicator for the Malayan cock crows all the night long. The days in the week are counted from the Sunday, as first, second or third day after Sunday; the names of the days are however in general use:—

<i>English</i>	<i>Malay</i>
Sunday	Ahad or Domingo (Port.)
Monday	Isnian
Tuesday	Sulasi
Wednesday	Rabu
Thursday	Kamis
Friday	Jumabat
Saturday	Subtu

The periods of the year are usually denoted by the seasons, thus, at the planting of paddy or the cutting of paddy, and having no calendars, they have no knowledge of time as it passes. If a few years elapse the only way they have of denoting the time is by referring to the number of times paddy has since been cut.

The services of the mosque on Friday are thus conducted.

The Bilal ascends the minaret at eleven in the forenoon and announces the approaching hour of prayer, this announcement is called the Bang. At noon the Mosque begins to fill and by 1 P. M. the service commences; each person is obliged to wash his feet before he enters the doors of the building; each Mosque has a well or tank of water attached to it for the use of those who attend.

At one o'clock the Bilal descends and from the steps of the temple sounds the last appeal. He then enters, ascends the pulpit and reads a chapter or two of the Koran. When he concludes the Imam stands before the congregation and looking towards Mecca he commences the usual formula, and as he kneels, bows or prostrates himself each worshipper follows his example. It need scarcely be said that a very small minority understands the meaning of the prayers used, it is however an interesting sight to see such a large number of people moving together at the same moment like one man.

At Pinang there are two Mosques and in order to insure a full house the people assemble in each every alternate Friday.

The religion of the Malay is uncontaminated by Hindu example, so that he regards with disgust the orgies celebrated by the natives of India at the Mohorum and other seasons, and the pious will not leave their houses to show how they despise the folly of their corrupt brethren. The only holidays observed by the Malay are the Hari Rayah and Hari Suffur, Mundi and Rayah Haji.

The first is celebrated on the day after the New Moon is seen which follows the fast month, and the second on the last Wednesday of the month Suffur.

The Hari Rayah is simply a feast day; and on the second holiday the Malays bathe in a stream which flows past the tomb of a local Saint; by doing so they believe in a sort of regeneration, and profess to believe that they are spiritually cleansed.

The third festival is held on the tenth day of the Mohorum month, but is unattended with processions or any outward demonstration; it is called Hari Rayah dul Hajira.

The 10th day of the month Haji is regarded as a holiday in honor of all those that have visited the Holy Land and also in respect of all the Prophets or great men of former days.

HABITATIONS.

THE dwellings of the poor are simply constructed, posts, rafters and thatch are obtained in the jungle and each individual builds his own house. As they invariably reside in swamps and forests their houses are raised on posts several feet above the ground; this affords them some protection against wild beasts and raises them above the surrounding waters. During the rains there is no communication between the villages on the higher parts of the Province and the campons in the lower parts of the country, so that the inhabitants of the latter are obliged to depend on their own stores of rice and provisions during the inundation. Their habit of building on posts is so universal that they will even do so on high dry ground; the Chinese adopt an opposite course, they never raise their houses and if obliged to build on swampy ground they will raise the earth with much labour rather than build on posts. The houses are usually divided into one or two apartments; if in two the first is called *sirambi* and the inner room is termed *bili*; in the former they recline during the day and the males usually occupy it at night, females and children sleep in the inner room; the *dapur* or cooking place is erected in the back part of the house where a small space is usually left clear of the sleeping room. Many houses have only one room. The roof is peaked and the entrance into the house is usually at the side, not at the gable end; a platform or *lantie* is invariably built across the front of the house and the roof on that side is brought down low enough to protect the *lantie* from the weather; the flooring of the house is made of laths cut from the nibong palms and the posts are of the same tree; the rafters are cut from any suitable tree, the thatch is collected from the leaves of the nibong and other palms, paddy straw is sometimes used; the sides are made of thatch, bark or sprigs of trees; the houses have no windows but spaces are left open in the sides for ventila-

tion, and portions of the roof are made moveable which are thrust open with poles when necessary. No furniture is used and few have any conveniences for securing their clothes, sometimes boxes of wicker work may be found, but usually the wearing apparel is bundled up in handkerchiefs. As their condition in life improves so their dwellings improve, and plank and brick houses may be found in the wildest parts of the country; these are built much in the European style so that they need no description. Each house has its hut for storing paddy; it is built in the same way as the house and large enough for the annual store of paddy.

They sleep on mats made of the *Mungquam* leaf spread on the floor and as the laths are some distance apart the inmates are easily speared or shot by robbers; such occurrences are happily rare. On one occasion a man who had been playing with a friend lay down to sleep and shortly after felt something touch his side; he conjectured that his friend had returned, so called out to him by name to desist; the report of a musket was instantly heard by his wife and others in the house, who hastened to him and found him shot through the heart; he had mistaken the muzzle of the musket which the miscreant was trying to fix on the right place, for the hand of his friend.

Tobacco.—The use of tobacco is general—men, women and children may be seen using it; tobacco from Java is generally masticated with the siri leaf, some prefer it alone; a reddish kind imported from China is rolled up in strips of the young nipah-palm leaf in the shape of cigarettes and smoked. It may be remarked that aged Malays when unable to masticate the siri leaf and the other ingredients alluded to in a previous note, provide themselves with a small pestle and mortar and beat them to a pulp before they attempt to eat the stuff. The mortar is a piece of hallow bamboo cut about six inches from a knot, so that the latter forms the bottom of the mortar, and the pestle is made of iron in the shape of a chisel about seven or eight inches in length, with a wooden handle, and the instrument is always carried about the person.

ARMS.

As the natives are not allowed to appear in public with

arms it is difficult to ascertain what description of weapons are in common use. A short dagger called *Badeh* is always carried concealed about the person when on a journey, it is seldom above six inches in length; the blade is straight and double edged; although small it is a most effective weapon in the hands of a desperate man; it is a favorite weapon with *Pengamuks**; it is easily concealed and enables the murderer to approach his victims without detection. Other weapons they have but they are kept in their houses for self defence; the most highly prized is the *kris*, they are of various lengths, varying from three feet to six inches, the blades are straight or spiral, and are from half an inch to two inches in width, the hilt is a part of the blade and is on the same plane so that it affords the hand no protection; the handles are made of very handsome wood highly polished and are curved in shape, they are usually ornamented with gold rings and fretted gold work, the blade is often interlaid with golden flowers and other designs; the blades are rough in the centre and marked as if a number of iron wires or bands were welded together clumsily and beaten into shape and the edges sharpened; the blades are always pointed, being proportionately smaller at the end than at the hilt, connoisseurs profess to distinguish good or bad weapons from the appearance of the lines in the blades, they are very useless instruments and only dangerous in the hands of a midnight assassin. They profess to despise the sword and seldom use it, the Malay sword is nothing but a large kris, badly balanced and quite worthless. The superstitions connected with krisses are mentioned in another place.

The spear is second to the kris alone. A small description is called *Limbing*; it is usually hurled at the enemy from a distance; the spear heads are either round or flat and seldom exceed six or eight inches in length. The larger spear is called *tombak*; it is used equally as an offensive and defensive weapon; it does not differ from the *limbing* in shape but is double the size and is of far greater use than the kris. Fire arms manufactured by the Chinese in Pinang are in general use, the blunderbuss (*Pumuras*) is considered invaluable, these weapons are made of common iron and usually endanger the lives of the users more than those fired at; numerous accidents occur from the barrels bursting. A small shield forms a

* Pengamok—One who runs amuck.

part of a Malay's household arms ; it is usually made of light wood and against a kris would be highly useful.

A very favourite weapon of defence is the *Ranjom* ; it is a double pointed stick, seldom exceeding six inches in length, and is used to defend stockades ; for several yards before the breast work they are thrust into the ground having one end up and to naked feet they are insurmountable, but are easily trod under foot with thick soled shoes ; gang robbers use them by not only covering the ground with them between the house they are about to attack in the direction of the police, but by dropping bundles of them at intervals as they run from the scene of their depredations. Malays will not follow in pursuit when once the cry is raised that *Ranjoms* have been thrown ; they are so hard that they easily pierce the foot through and are much dreaded as punctures from them are not easily cured. In the skirmishes in Borneo under Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, a great number of Europeans who did not wear shoes were wounded with these instruments.

DISEASES.

Cutaneous affections are very prevalent among Malays. *Puru* has been described ; another called *Sopa* resembles leprosy and is probably a species of that disease, it seldom spreads over the body but is confined to the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, it is not considered contagious. A loathsome disease called *Korap* is very prevalent among fishermen, it spreads over the whole body and presents a scaly appearance, it appears of an irritating nature for those afflicted incessantly scratch themselves ; when the scales fall off the disease is considered infectious. Exposure to sea water and diet which consists principally of salt fish, mollusca and blubber may conduce to the disease.

Itch or *Kudis* is not common. The periodical diseases are measles, cow pox, small pox, dysentery, fevers,—common and intermittent, also accompanied by ague and cholera, occur annually in a lesser or greater degree and carry off thousands.

Cholera appears in a milder form than it does on the Continent of India, and strong remedies resorted to immediately on being attacked seldom fail to cure. On its appearance government distributes medicines throughout the country. A pill prepared by the late Civil Surgeon of Pinang (Dr J. Rose) proved eminently success-

ful and few cases of death occurred wherein it was administered ; the failures may be attributed to the prejudice Malays entertain against spirituous liquors, strong stimulants were ordered to be given with the pills and when patients refused to drink them they invariably perished, but all those that conquered their objection and drank the stimulants recovered ; the pills were placed at all the police stations and a correct account kept of the number of cases attended to and the number of those that recovered or died ; one out of ten was about the number that died.

Leprosy and Elephantiasis are rare; when they do occur the afflicted are not put aside but their neighbours and relatives associate with them as intimately as ever and no bad results occur. Syphilitic diseases are uncommon among the rural population. Hydrophobia is unknown and Pulmonary diseases rare. The Malays seem to be carried off principally by the epidemics mentioned above; this may be attributed to the nature of the localities they inhabit, and it is remarkable that certain diseases are restricted to certain localities; there is no doubt that much of the sickness prevailing among the Malays of Pinang and Province Wellesley may be attributed to the miasma generated in the filthy swamps over which they reside. Some districts are annually decimated by dysentery, fever and cholera or rather colic. In most of these districts the villages are surrounded by hills which prevent ventilation ; if the inhabitants were forced to forsake the swamps for the hill-sides, from whence they could with very little trouble descend to cultivate their fields, the fearful destruction of life would be prevented. Under existing circumstances few Malays reach old age, some remarkable instances of longevity may be seen but they are rare. One old woman in Pinang is said to be more than a hundred years old, she is a native of Borneo or one of the Philippine Islands and was left on the island by pirates before the English settled therein, there are others also professing to be seventy and eighty years of age. The Malays are fruitful and are generally blessed with numerous children, but the mortality is so great that no perceptible increase in the population is observed and were it not for the immigration from native states a very great decrease of the inhabitants would be discovered. A comparison between the last census and one taken twenty years ago will bear out the truth of the above statement.

GAMING.

THE love of gaming appears to be naturally inherent in the Malays. From India and China they have obtained various games of chance and from Europeans cards and dice; cockfighting appears to be the only native mode of indulging the passion. Quails are also kept for fighting but this pastime is limited to a few.

Cocks that are destined for the pit, have their combs cut close to the head in a triangular shape so as to prevent that appendage being seized by their adversaries in the combat; they are never fought at public matches with naked spurs but have long, sharp, slightly curved knives lashed to them, so that the exhibition becomes a very cruel one. A bird frequently kills its adversary at the first blow. As it is difficult to maintain cock pits for fear of the police it is usual to meet in retired places for the purpose of indulging in the amusement, on such occasions heavy wagers are laid and much money changes hands.

Quails are kept for fighting and are very ingeniously caught. A tame bird is placed in a cage fitted with a trap door and concealed in the jungle, to the trap door a net is fastened and from the outer edge of the trap two lines are led over the front bar of the cage and attached to two heavy rings, a catch holds the door down; the chirping of the decoy bird soon attracts the wild bird, who on discovering the former, commences an attack and tries to fight the prisoner, in his struggles he removes the catch and the door is drawn up by the rings; the bird is enclosed between the net and the bars of the cage and easily captured; as there is no other way of reaching the bird in the cage except by walking over the net, these traps are very successful. Quails are very pugnacious and afford good sport, it is not however a general pastime.

A game called *Champla* is indulged in by Malays residing near town; it resembles "heads and tails," the only difference is that instead of throwing the coin in the air it is struck against a stone, bets are laid in the usual way on the turn up.

A similar game is played by two, each player stakes a certain number of cents and in turns tries to pitch them into a hole; all the cents that fall in the hole become the property of the thrower.

Dice are used as with us; the player throwing the highest number wins the stakes. A game resembling whist is played with European cards.

Malays in general do not indulge in games of chance, but when they do contract a habit of gambling, they become inveterate gamblers and will forfeit all their worldly possessions to gratify the passion ending in beggary; such a termination would only be a just retribution but unfortunately it leads in most cases to pilfering and eventually to crimes of greater enormity such as burglary and gang robbery.

The Chinese game of "Poh" is the one usually played by professed gamblers; it is purely a game of chance and has been described in the pages of this journal in the "Notes on the Chinese";* it is an exceedingly fair game and the chances of winning are as favourable to the players as to the owners of the bank or gaming house; the revenue of the gaming house keeper is principally derived from a fee or commission which he collects from each winner, three per cent is the usual amount paid by the successful player on all he wins.

To each gaming house an illicit opium shop is attached, so that the prosecution of one vice leads to the indulgence of the other; all Malay gamblers are opium smokers and to obtain the drug they will hazard their lives; it is a common practice for Chinese to destroy themselves if unable to purchase opium, not so the Malay, he appears too philosophical to sacrifice himself when the means of gratifying his tastes are so easy, he takes to robbing instead of suicide and with a number of others in the same predicament attacks opium shops and plunders them of all the opium and preparations thereof he can find. Nearly all the gang robberies in Province Wellesley from 1851 to 1856 were committed in opium shops and in many instances, although there was much valuable property in the shops, it remained untouched, while every grain of opium and chandoo was taken; it is a well established fact that all the gang robbers in Province Wellesley are well known gamblers and opium smokers. When the country is securely guarded it is probable the opium smoker will resort to the more civilized way of ending his cares, namely by self murder.

Although Chess is not a gambling game it may be appropriately mentioned here; Malays are fond of the game and as it does not differ much from the English game, it is not worth describing their mode of playing it; the variations exist not so much in the

* See *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Vol. VIII. p. 25.

moves as in the rules of the game ; the chessmen are seldom carved figures, but are merely draughtsmen with the Arabic characters representing the various classes cut on them. A game resembling Draughts is also common ; it appears of Indian origin.

SUPERSTITIONS.

The Malays are of course superstitious ; they believe in demons and other spirits of the air, but their religious belief excludes any fear of them ; they have too strong a faith in God and his decrees to be swayed by any fear of idealities ; like all Mahomedans they are fatalists and believe therefore that no man or devil can alter their destiny. They do not naturally believe in the intercession of Saints or holy men but from intercourse with natives of Hindustan they are gradually being corrupted on this head ; there are several Saints tombs or cenotaphs in Pinang to which the Malays contribute their offerings with Bengalies and Klings to propitiate the shades of the worthies whose bones lie buried far away. One monument is erected over the grave of a holy man that died in Pinang ; it is regarded with great respect by all classes and periodically vast multitudes visit the tomb and pray for the old man's intercession ; the Malays do not join in considerable numbers but all that know of the tomb believe in its virtues. The orthodox party under the guidance of the head Malay priest (Abdul Gunny) already alluded to, regard all such innovations with horror ; nothing beyond the pages of the Koran is received by them.

They believe that a kris of a certain shape and make protects the inmates of a house from danger while within the house, another shape renders its wearer invincible. A few verses of the Koran packed in an amulet is a charm that renders the wearer invulnerable. A remarkable instance of this superstition occurred about two years ago.—A tiger had strayed from the main jungle into the populous village of Tellok Ayer Tawar, Province Wellesley, and caused much consternation among the villagers, who turned out armed to the teeth to destroy the beast ; the tiger was quite as much alarmed at finding himself so far from his lair and took refuge in a patch of mangrove and nipah jungle that lies between the village and the sea ; a cordon of villagers was drawn along the road to prevent the animal's return to his fastness,—for sometime not a man was found courageous enough to enter the mangrove,

at length an old man, bent with age, come forward and offered to attack the beast unassisted; the bystanders tried to dissuade him; but he was firm, his kris was invincible and a charm that he had about his person protected him, he would go, and he did with the greatest composure, he found the tiger, walked up to him deliberately and stabbed him with his kris; in an instant the tiger struck him to the earth and in a few seconds the old man's belief would have been dispelled for ever, but assistance was at hand:—three or four young fellows armed with muskets had followed close on the old man's heels and one of them shot the tiger and rescued the self confident old Muslim, his neck was found fearfully lacerated but the catastrophe did not check the old man's faith in his kris and charm; he believed that they had killed the brute—he ever continued to boast of his prowess and the infallibility of his weapons, quite forgetting the opportune aid of the young man with the musket. As a reward the old man was made Pangulu Mukim of the village he resided in by government, which served to strengthen his superstition rather than decrease it; the young man that saved his life was also rewarded with a *douceur* of a few dollars.

Robber Panglimas are famed for their wonderful weapons that preserve them from all harm, and render them invulnerable. Malays believe that even bullets will not penetrate their bodies, the consequence is that they become paralysed in the presence of one of these charmed heroes, and those who before ordinary foes nothing will daunt, quail at the sight of a Panglima; several cases have occurred when overwhelming numbers have been afraid to attack a single individual. Such instances tend to perpetuate the dread of these villains.

Lucky and unlucky days are much credited, certain diagrams are drawn on paper and by various methods are these consulted to find a lucky day for any enterprise. Robber Panglimas are supposed to possess a knowledge of these contrivances; the majority of people profess not to understand them. Malay seamen whistle for the wind equally with their white brethren.

The superstitious ceremony of charming deer-catching instruments, and the belief that a white rat is lucky, have been related in another page. Haunted houses and localities also exist but Malays

are not cowardly enough to be frightened by them. With regard to charmed crises it may be observed that there are men who profess to detect them among a multitude of others, although to the unexperienced there is no visible difference.

DEATH AND BURIAL.

THERE is not much ceremony connected with the burial of the dead. When a Malay dies the priest and his attendants are sent for, the latter wash the body and clothe it with a change of clean linen. Cotton is laid over the face and camphor is sprinkled over the body and thrust into the ears and nostrils and some is put on the eye-lids. White cotton cloth some yards longer than the corpse is folded in six or seven folds and laid under the body, the arms are crossed over the breast, the left usually under the right; the body is then rolled up in the cloth and a knot is tied a little beyond the head and another beyond the feet, another piece of cloth is tied round the waist over all. No coffins are used, the body is placed in the grave and a plank is laid over the body diagonally so as to shelter the latter from the earth, the grave must be dug north and south so that the body may be laid on its side with the face towards Mecca. After the grave is filled a wooden post is put into the ground at each end to mark the spot, the priest reads the funeral service and exhortation called *Talkin* and the service concludes. Three days after death a feast is held, and again on the seventh, fourteenth, fortieth and hundredth days. Before the body is removed from the house the priest reads the Koran and this duty is continued daily for seven days.

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Physical—The Malay is short; five feet two or three inches may be considered the average height of a male, and a few inches shorter, the height of a female; his bones are large and clumsily put together, but strongly knit; arms and legs usually short compared to the length of the body, and the whole frame robust and capable of much labour; the head round and elongated at the summit, broad at the back and set on a short thick neck. Eyes long and narrow, rather deep set, black or dark hazel in color and seldom clear about the white. Nose long, wide at the nostrils and not very flat.

Forehead broad and receding, cheek bones very prominent and jaws wide and square; teeth regular, large and white unless dis-

colored by lime and gambier. The facial angle seldom exceeds fifty degrees, the European's is seldom less and sometimes nearly ninety or perpendicular, showing according to phrenologists that in the Malayan skull animal propensities preponderate over the intellectual.

Hair black and coarse ; it is plentiful on the head but other parts of the body are smooth, if hairs make their appearance on the face they are carefully removed with pincers, moustaches alone are encouraged and a man with any pretension to warlike propensities would feel himself deficient without a pair ; mouth large with thin lips ; ears large and ill-shaped. The body is fleshy and muscular, legs remarkably so, thighs so large as to be unwieldy. Habit of body lean—Malays seldom get fat. The women are pretty when young but soon show signs of old age, they become wrinkled and haggard after bearing a few children, and in old age are hideous.

Mental—Malays are frank, courteous and honest ; brave, generous and sensitive to a fault ; grave at times and anon overflowing with mirth in youth, but invariably sedate when advanced in years ; proud and revengeful if illtreated, but under generous treatment gentle, kind, humane, grateful, docile and faithful. Capable of the warmest attachments and yet impelled to madness and the commission of the most revolting deeds by real or imaginary unkindness. They are kind parents and dutiful children, they treat their aged kinsmen with the greatest kindness and ever feel it a duty to relieve the wants of an indigent relative ; old men and women are always regarded with respect.

Although votaries of the most bigotted religion on earth they are without prejudices of caste, a friendship or attachment to the followers of any other religion would never be overthrown by any religious motives. As soldiers they would prove as faithful as Europeans, they fraternise more readily with the latter than any other natives of the East ; if a sufficient inducement was held out military colonies might be formed in various parts of India similar to that in Ceylon ; the pay of a sepoy is not sufficient to entice a Malay from his native land ; he should have a larger salary and be allowed to take his wife and family with him, above all care should be taken that none but Malays are enlisted ; the men enlisted in Pinang for the Pegu light infantry consisted of Klings, Bengales, Chinese and a few Malays.

LEGENDS &c.

THE Malays have a very pleasant way of whiling away an idle hour by relating stories to each other. Scarcely a locality exists but which has its Legend. Their names for things and places are invariably apt and illustrative, and their traditions need but a graphic pen to render them interesting to Europeans. A few extracts from their legendary lore will serve to show the truth of the above remarks.

The ancient name of Pulo Pinang was Pulo Ka Satu and thus do they account for its derivation.

A famous sea rover in days of yore named Ragam used to trade between Linga and Kidda and the adjacent rivers. Falling in with no higher or larger isolated island on the way than Pinang he named it Pulo Ka Satu or single island. The latter name was retained till the betelnut palm was cultivated on the island, after the arrival of the British, the name was when changed to Pulo Pinang. After Ragam's days and some time before the island became famous as Pulo Pinang, the natives of the opposite coast knew it as Tanjong Panagar from trees of that name which grew on the spot where Fort Cornwallis is built. The inhabitants of Province Wellesley speak of Pulo Pinang to this day as Tanjong Panagar or its abbreviation Tanjong. The name may be seen in all the grants of land issued by government as late as 1800.

To Ragam is imputed the names of all the bays, rivers and points of Pulo Pinang.

On one occasion when off the south western end of island, his kindi or waterpot fell into the sea, and it was immediately transformed by the genii of the place into an island which still bears the name of Pulo Kindi.

On leaving Pulo Kindi he pulled into a Bay which lies opposite the island, and at the mouth of the river which flows into the Bay he released a tame bird called Bayan, and thenceforth the river has been called Bayan Lepas (or the free Bayan).

At another time, when off the point forming one side of the above bay, he approached the shore for the purpose of landing. The sea was however too rough and in pulling from the shore his boat was nearly swamped; she rolled and pitched heavily,

and as Ragam was steering her off, his exertions loosened the pins from his hair, the knot became undone and the pins fell into the sea, he therefore named the place "Gerattah Sangkol." On passing Pulo Bittong he encountered a heavy gale, and on passing a point of land a short distance beyond the island, he perceived his wife sitting pale with fear, so he called the point "Puchut Muka" or palefaced.

The Boonting or Pregnant Islands were once hills, the sea having surrounded them gradually. Their names are thus accounted for :—

Many thousand years ago there dwelt on the coast a very ill natured demon. One day whilst walking on the beach, he saw a princess lying on the sand in the pains of child-birth, she had sent a messenger to call a mid-wife who was so long away that she sent another who outran the former, and was returning with the mid-wife where the wicked genii transformed them all into hills and named them—

Boonting or the Pregnant.

Sonsong the lazy messenger, literally the Convoy.

Panglilan, the active messenger, literally the messenger.

Bidan the mid-wife.

The names of different places are derived from some local peculiarity or legend connected with the spot.

Gumuru, a small Bay on the south side of Pinang, is so called from the rumbling noise a stream makes that flows into the sea. Gumuru means literally a shout.

Pulo Bittong derives its name from a species of gigantic bambu that grows on the Island.

Ayer Itam from a deep still sheet of water, which from its depth appears dark.

Glughore derives its name from a tree bearing an acid fruit, which is cut into slices and used in curries.

Batu Uban or grey rocks, from the appearance they bear to grey human heads, the action of wind and rain appears to have caused the resemblance.

Bukit Merah or red hill from the color of its soil.

Pulo Tikus or Rat Island and so a thousand examples might be produced to show the fitness of Malayan epithets.

The Legends or tales that please the most refer chiefly to the deeds of land and sea robbers. One specimen will suffice.

The Legend of Ché Prang—Some years ago a notorious robber named Ché Prang dwelt at Sunghie Puyu in Province Wellesley, and for several years he committed the most frightful depredations in the neighbourhood and shed more blood than any robber before or since. The inhabitants were so terrified at his prowess that those who owned cattle or valuable property paid him an annual sum to insure his good will and protection.

About this time a Pungulu or native officer of police, named Ché Itam, was stationed at Tellok Ayer Tawar, he was a Javanese and enjoyed a far famed reputation for valor, but he was not so brave as rumour gave him credit for. The English Governor of Pinang frequently admonished him for not being able to catch or destroy Ché Prang. To the Governor's remonstrances the Pungulu invariably replied, that he was frequently out after the robber, but unfortunately had not been successful in falling in with him, but if ever he did the Governor might be sure that he would kill him. Now the reason why Ché Itam never met the robber was this.—A mutual agreement was entered into by the robber and the Pungulu that whenever the former was about to undertake an expedition intelligence was to be sent to the latter, and the Pungulu promised to keep out of the way, so that when the robber intended taking a road inland, Ché Itam sought him on the sea shore, or when the former was obliged to follow the sea beach to reach his destination the Pungulu diligently searched the interior, and so Ché Itam could truly say, that he never met the robber Panglima*.

At length the Governor resolved to have the robber taken, dead or alive, and sent a party of sepoys and armed men from the government vessel-of-war to effect his object. It was arranged that the robber's house should be surrounded before day-light and when it was light enough he could be captured. The party left town at midnight and reached the house a little too late, for before they could surround the house the day had dawned and the Panglima

* Panglima chief or leader.

was seen leaving the house from the back door, he might have been shot but the Officer in charge of the Sepoys would not order them to fire, so he escaped into the jungle. The Sepoys revenged themselves by burning the robber's house and paddy stores, and felling the fruit trees. After this Ché Prang left the British territories and resided at Quala Muda, in the Kidda country, protected by the Malay Rajah. From his retreat he issued on his wicked expeditions and for some time he wreaked a fearful vengeance on the unoffending inhabitants of Province Wellesley. The Pungulu Ché Itam was so abused and threatened by the authorities that he resolved at last to cast off his old ally and attempt his destruction. At this critical moment a gallant fellow, the steersman of a piratical prahu, came to Tellok Ayer Tawar and resided with the Pungulu, he agreed to kill Ché Prang for a large reward; the champion was called Jurrumudi or Helmsman. Some days after this the robber was about to leave Quala Muda with a large number of followers on an expedition that promised much booty and he appeared sad and dispirited; his neighbours struck with the difference in his aspect to his usual demeanour when bound on such a journey; were much distressed and one of their number thus addressed him: "Oh Wan* why this sad appearance, has the excitement of plundering lost its charms? Dost thou not rejoice at the prospect of the booty thou art sure to obtain?"

Ché Prang thus replied: "Nay friends it is not a trifle that makes me sad, this day I shall die." His wife on hearing this threw herself at his feet and implored him to remain at home and let his followers go without him; but the robber was immovable, he replied, "It matters not, this day is my last and it were better to die fighting gloriously than perish like a coward in my bed; my evil genius appeared to me last night and warned me that this day should be my last, and die I must"; remonstrances were in vain so his wife and friends allowed him to depart. On the sea shore near Tellok Ayer Tawar he met a policeman named Ché Salleh and Jurrumudi the redoubtable pirate; Ché Prang thus addressed Ché Salleh "Oh brother where is this Jurrumudi that has promised to kill me? I was told that Ché Itam had hired him to do so." Salleh became much alarmed and replied "I know

* Wan, a title of respect.

not Wan, the report is false, I have not heard that Jurrumudi has promised to kill you," here he was thrust aside and Jurrumudi strode forward; confronting the bold Ché Prang he said ironically—"Say oh mighty Wan is it possible that a poor wretch like me, should offer to fight so powerful a chief as thee; (Ché Prang was a very large man and the speaker of diminutive stature.) Thou surely cannot believe the idle tale?" At this juncture Ché Itam and four armed peons came forward from the jungle when they had been concealed. Ché Prang seeing that he had been drawn into an ambush felt that his time had come and that his foes outnumbered his party; for he had imprudently sent the greater part of his band by another road, feeling confident that Ché Itam would never venture to meet him. He therefore advanced towards the Pungulu and thus addressed him, his eyes glaring like a tiger's. "It is said that you have employed this warrior to kill me, have then your wish,—if you wish to fight, I am ready although you have the advantage in numbers," and at the same time he raised his arm to hurl a spear, which he held in his hand, at the Pungulu. In the twinkling of an eye Jurrumudi draw his sword and nearly severed Ché Prang's hand from his arm and Ché Salleh shot the robber through the heart. A dreadful conflict ensued, during which Jurrumudi was shot dead by one of the robbers and the Pungulu was wound in the arm, legs and breast. One of the robbers was killed and the rest escaped.

When the body of Ché Prang was removed to the police station all those who had paid him black mail and feared him in his lifetime now came to the bier and slaked their vengeance by running their knives and crises through his corpse.

The Pungulu received five hundred dollars for killing the robber, and each peon got twenty dollars. So poor Jurrumudi lost his life and the cowardly Pungulu gained further renown and was ever after regarded by the inhabitants with fear and respect for having slain the redoubtable Ché Prang.

It is remarkable that Malays never journey in couples but always in Indian file, and their women always precede the men. Thus do they account for a custom so opposite to the practice among European nations

The Legend of the Prince and Snake.—In ancient days it was the custom for men to walk before women when escorting them about the country, but on one occasion a prince was walking before his wife with a spear in his hand; suddenly he came on an enormous snake which was lying across the path, the prince started back, and the spear ran into his wife's stomach and killed her. An order was at once issued throughout the kingdom to the effect that all men in future should walk after their wives, so as to prevent such accidents, and at the same time be prepared to protect their wives.

The width of the road does not affect the custom; they may be seen on the broadest road in Pinang walking in single file, the women always going first.

The habit of walking in single file may be attributed to the use of narrow pathways in jungles, it is strange however that Malays born in our territories and accustomed to broad roads never get into the habit of walking two or three abreast, although they see Europeans and natives of India doing it constantly.

The following narrative of the occupation of Pulo Pinang by the English in 1786 may prove interesting. It was related to his children by one of the first Malayan settlers on the Island and one of them repeated it to the writer.

Narrative of Haji Mahomed Salleh, commonly called Haji Brunie.—The English came to take possession of Penang in three vessels, one of three masts, and two of two masts. One was commanded by Captain Light who was called Datu Nadore by the Malays.* One brig was commanded by Captain Farkar (Farquhar?) and one by Captain Linsi (Lindsay?); they came from Bengal and remained at anchor off Kiddah for three days.

Mahomed Salleh or Haji Brunie, the narrator, was a native of Brunie and had just returned from Arabia, he was residing then at Quala Prye waiting for a vessel bound to Borneo.

After presenting handsome presents and the Governor General's letter to the Rajah they crossed over to Tanjong Panagar as the Island was then called. The Rajah sent his war prahus in charge of a Datu who had instructions to make the Island over to the English in due form.

* The word Nadore is probably a corruption of Commodore.

After the English hoisted their flag and took possession of the Island, they fired shot at the shore *for three days without ceasing*; the Haji asked the reason for so doing and he was informed that it was the English custom to fire for several days at a new settlement for the purpose of driving away the devils therefrom. On the fourth day they landed and lived in tents. Captain Light found about thirty persons living on the beach, the head man was called Nacodah Kichil. Mr Light got him to clear the jungle, assisted by Malays from the Kiddah side. Fifteen dollars were paid for cutting down and uprooting a large tree, and for the smaller trees the reward was proportionately reduced. Capt. Light brought native Sepoys, with him from Bengal.

Haji Mahomed Salleh came over from Quedah and took service under Nacodah Kechil. As soon as a clearance was made, a fort was built.

A strong nibong fence was made in the shape of a square and a bank of earth was thrown up against it thirty feet wide; then another fence was made. In the narrow square wooden houses were built for the Europeans. Haji Mutsalleh asked leave to clear a space in the country for himself, the permission was granted and assisted by Nacodah Kechil and others they cleared the land on which the village of Jullutong now stands.

The Malays that came over with Light got free grants of land and they cleared the jungle where Datu Cramat now stands. Seven years after the English came, a person named *Danbie Chand* cleared the land about Batu Lanchang. Two years after a Captain Scott cleared the land at Glughore; he was assisted by a man named Mahomed Prie of Sungora.

Nacodah Intan cleared Batu Uban. A year after an European named Raboo (?) assisted by a Malay named Hakim Tudoh cleared Sunghie Nibong.

A Malay named Loh Munu cleared Sunghie Kluang.

Haji Mahomed Salleh three years after this, or about twelve after coming to Pinang, settled at Bayan Lepas with a man named Long Syed. The Haji on his return from Mecca touched at Acheen and Quedah, and married a native of the latter country and settled there. He came across a few days after Light came and the land he cleared at Bayan Lepas still remains in the possession of his family. He died about twenty years ago and left several sons and

daughters, who are all respectable persons ; two of his sons have held the responsible office of Pungulu of the district.

Pah Kichil, a native of Batu Barra, Jamuludin and Nacodah Ché Sallch of Lingah cleared Permattang Dammar Laut.

Tunku Utas and Toh Ninah Siamese cleared Batu Mow.

Nacodah Seedin, a native of Delhi, and Punglima Long of Sit-tool first settled at Tellok Coomber.

Tukong Ko of Purlis and Lebbi Tampak of Delhie, cleared Bali Pulo.

An Englishman named Bacon cleared Ayer Itam.

About 20 years after Light came the Siamese took Kiddah when about six thousand Malays emigrated from the latter place and settled in Pinang.

Shortly after the English came to Pinang, Captain Light quarrelled with the Rajah of Quedah's Prime Minister who lived at Quala Prye ; what the cause of the quarrel was is unknown, but Captain Light sent a brig of war and gun boats, drove the Rajah's people out of the Fort and destroyed it.

The occupation of Pinang and the destruction of the Fort on the Prye have been described in nearly every work that has been published relating to Pinang and its dependencies. A comparison of the Malayan tale above related with the authentic publications would prove highly interesting to the curious. How little of truth is there to be found in the traditions of events that occurred only seventy years ago, what absurdity then to rely on the annals of any nation that pretends to display the events that transpired centuries ago.

JOURNEY FROM FORT MARLBOROUGH TO PALEMBANG.*

By Captain SALMOND.

1818, *June 22*.—Left Fort Marlborough at 11 A. M. and proceeded in company with the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor to Bukit Kabut, where we remained for the night.

June 23.—Left Bukit Kabut at twenty minutes before 10 A. M. and arrived at the house of the Pangeran of Sungey Lamau at Kalindong on the Bencoolen river at 4 P. M.—we remain here during the night. The road from Bukit Kabut to Kalindong is troublesome from its numerous quick ascents and descents, also from having to cross branches of the Bencoolen river several times, fording the same as there are not any rafts or sampans, and in one instance having to walk up the river about half a mile to obtain a bank that was easy of ascent. We passed through several plantations upon the sides of the hills which were situated in an excellent soil. At one of the anjals, or look-out houses, we observed a piece of petrified wood, in weight and grain resembling stone, and at some distance further was a block of the same, of large diameter, apparently a piece of the body of a tree.

June 24.—Left Kalindong at a quarter before 9 A. M. and arrived at Penumbong, at the foot of the range of hills, at twenty minutes past 1 P. M. Our journey was not through so much cultivated ground as on the preceding day, but was performed with much less fatigue. From the serpentine direction of the Bencoolen river we forded it seven times, and proceeded along its banks for some distance; the last ford was immediately opposite to Kalindong proper, where the Pangeran of Sungey Lamau has a plantation of spice trees in bearing. The *dusun* of Penumbong being situated in a hollow we were unable to notice the situation of the hills known in Fort Marlborough; but in the course of our journey, observed that we entered between the hills usually denominated the Sugar loaf and Lion's rump, having the former on our left and the latter on our right.

June 25.—Left Penumbong at a quarter before 8 A. M. and proceeded up the hill;—after travelling a short distance, arrived at a place where there was a fall of water of about thirty or forty feet.

* Reprinted from the Bencoolen Miscellany, 1822.

At 10 A. M. arrived on the summit of this hill, named Bukit Rassam, and observed Pulo Point bearing S. S. W. half W.—Buffalo Point S. W. by S.—the Lion's rump S. by W. distant about six miles,—the Sugar loaf due W. distant about three miles, and Bukit Kabut S. half W. The ascent to this hill is in general not laborious and is in tolerably good order: it has no table land upon it, but immediately descends for a short distance and rises into another apex named Bukit Chamano, where we arrived thirty-five minutes past 11 A. M. The natives say that this hill is lower than Bukit Rassam, but in our opinion they are nearly of equal height, the difference being too inconsiderable to deserve notice. Descending the hills on the Musi side, we passed several Tallangs, apparently abandoned in consequence of the number of elephants and other wild animals, the prints of whose feet were very conspicuous. The soil was a fine rich black loam. The last half hour's walk was by a good road passing through a grove of bamboos, the end of which led into the first Musi *dusun*, named Lubu Kuauw, which we entered at forty minutes past 1 P. M. We immediately crossed, upon a bamboo bridge, the Kulinghi branch of the Musi or Palembang river, which is about twenty-five fathoms broad. Four rafts or stages of bamboo were placed at equidistant stations in the breadth of the river to receive the ends of other bamboos placed across the river to form the road. The current being rapid, the ends of the rafts which came in contact with it, were connected by twisted rattans to a cable of the same material, which was made fast on each shore; and to prevent the great strain which the latter would have to sustain from the strength of the current acting against the ends of the rafts, a second rattan cable was made fast to a heavy body placed about the centre of the river and also connected to the middle of the cable. After crossing the Musi river the greater part of our journey was through an extensive bamboo grove in which were the traces of abundance of elephants of a large size. Near to Lubu Kuauw we passed a small lake of very fetid water; a petty Malay chief who resided close to it, came out to meet us accompanied by his son, whose skin and hair were perfectly white. We passed on to Suro where we arrived at forty minutes past 3 P. M. This is a pretty *dusun*, not very large, situated on the side of a stream which joins the Musi or Kulinghi river; at a short distance pre-

vious to arriving at Suro is a deep swamp about fifty feet broad, where it is necessary to have bamboos placed for the purpose of crossing upon.

June 26.—Left Suro twenty minutes past 3 A. M. and at a quarter before twelve arrived at Churup, a *dusan* situated on the Ayer Duko, a stream which communicates with the Kulinghi river. Here we stopped for the rear of our party until twenty-two minutes to one, and then proceeded to Kasumbay, a *dusan* situated on the Ayer Puti which also joins the Kulinghi river, where we arrived at twelve minutes past one. Our journey this day was chiefly upon level ground, but, except on approaching the banks of streams of water, we did not pass much that was cultivated. We crossed a stream with a cascade having a fall of about twenty-five feet. The *dusuns* we saw this day were very decent and had several houses finished in a very superior manner:—this was the last Musi *dusun* which, although under the authority of the Sultan of Palembang, is not visited by his Jejenangs to collect the tubin or tribute, which may in some part perhaps arise from the great distance, and also the badness of the road.

June 27.—Departed from Kasumbay thirty-seven minutes before 8 A. M. and arrived at Ayer Lam at half past 4 P. M. In consequence of its being too inconsiderable a place to afford us any accommodation we continued our route to Lubu Tallang where we arrived at half past six excessively fatigued, having been walking eleven hours and twelve minutes, in general upon a very bad road. On first quitting Kasumbay we entered some cultivated ground which extended to a short distance and then entered a wood, which the mud, the number of large trees laying across and parallel to the foot paths, the narrowness of the latter and their quick risings and descents and great length, made excessively tedious to traverse. We passed three cascades of water, at the last of which, a very good one, we sat down and refreshed ourselves. Our journey this day appeared to have been in an E. or S. E. direction over the high ground close to the second range of hills.

June 28.—Proceeded from Lubu Tallang at twenty-five minutes past 11 A. M. and arrived at Ujung Panas at a quarter past 1 P. M. where we rested for the day, all parties being still much fatigued with the preceding day's journey. A Jejenang had arrived here from Radin Meardin at Moarra Baliti to acquaint us

that he was in readiness with the panchallongs to take us down the river and to assist us during the continuance of our journey.

June 29. Left Ujung Panas at eighteen minutes past 8 A. M. passed through Ulu Tanding fifty-five minutes past 9, 1 A. M. and arrived at Ulu Tangung twenty-two minutes past eleven. Three rafts being in readiness here to carry us through the rapids of the Kulinghi river, the coolies were directed to continue their journey by land and we proceeded on the rafts, which were made of bamboos with a seat raised in the middle, and an oar or bamboo paddle at each end to steer by. At Ulu Lebar where we arrived at a quarter past one we changed our raftsmen, and likewise at Ulu Sonun, where we arrived at twenty-three minutes past two, and at Tabbar Jenukey at twenty minutes past three, where we rested for the night. On our passage down we passed numerous rapids, some of which were in part artificially made, to preserve the navigation of the river by confining the streams of water to a narrow space, by means of large stones placed within ambungs of split bamboo and about ten or twelve fathoms long laid with the stream. My raft, through the carelessness of one of the raftsmen, was carried with such velocity against the side of the bank by one of the rapids, as to be nearly upset and myself and baggage thrown into the water. At Ulu Lebar we observed an undershot water wheel constructed chiefly of bamboos and used for raising water to irrigate the sawahs.* The bank of the river is steep alternately to the right and left for some distance.

June 30.—Proceeded from Tabbar Jenukey at twenty-five minutes past 8 A. M. on our rafts, passed Tabbar Bingan at seventeen minutes past nine and arrived at Tannah Priuk at ten. At this place the bed and sides of the river are formed by an immense body of hard stone, by which its breadth is very much reduced, and it is precipitated with great violence from a height of about fifteen feet; the rafts were necessitated to be lifted out of the river by the inhabitants of Tannah Priuk and carried about thirty fathoms distance and placed in the water again. From this place until within a short distance of Moarra Baliti the sides of the river are steep and in many places undermined for some distance and the soil is much intermixed with a rough hard stone, of

* The same contrivance is general in Menangkabau and other interior parts of the Island of Sumatra.

which the coolies who carried our packages by land complained as hurting their feet. We arrived at Padang at a quarter past twelve, and at Moarra Baliti at a quarter past three, and found the Sultan's panchallongs under the command of Radin Mahedien in waiting for us. We passed the night in a bamboo floating house belonging to Radin Mahedien, and found very good accommodation.

July 1. Left Moarra Baliti at ten minutes before 10, A. M. in a large panchallong of twenty bahars, accompanied by several others containing Radin Mahedien and our people and baggage, and also one for cooking our food. We passed Sono at five minutes past ten, Romiyore at twenty-five minutes to eleven, and Lubu on the Palembang or Musi river at ten minutes past three, where we waited the arrival of the panchallongs; proceeded again at twenty-six minutes past four, and arrived at Bingan at six; passed on to Tandingan where we arrived at seven and in consequence of the weather being dark and indifferent put up here during the night.

July 2. Early this morning departed from Tandingan and passed numerous *dusuns* the names of which we did not take; many of them were situated in the bight of two reaches which placed them in a very advantageous point of view either going up or down the river. Many of them were very large and populous and possessed panchallongs of good size. In the afternoon passed the qualoe of the Rawas where the ex-sultan had a fort when he fled after the murder of the Dutch factory, but no traces of it remained. The night being fine we proceeded down the river without putting up at any place.

July 3. Continued to proceed down the river: the *dusuns* we passed this day were situated at greater distances from each other than those higher up. About 4 P. M. arrived at Bion which although the nearest *dusun* to Palembang is at the distance of six hours rowing with a swift canoe: waited here to dine and collect our panchallongs and afterwards proceeded down the river during the night.

July 4. At 6 A. M. brought to on the bank of the river to breakfast and dress ourselves, immediately after which we continued our course and reached Palembang about 8 A. M. We landed near the large fort and were conducted to the Sultan.

We thus reached Palembang in twelve days from leaving Bencoolen, being the first Europeans who had crossed the island in any direction. We found the difficulties much fewer than we expected; and though we occasionally experienced fatigue we were abundantly compensated by the variety and novelty of the scenes we passed through. The barrier range of hills appears to be more easily passed in this part than in most other places, and the rich and fertile districts of Musi are in consequence much more accessible from Bencoolen than has generally been supposed. The inhabitants are partly Rejangs and consider themselves as more dependent upon Bencoolen than Palembang. From Moarra Baliti, where we embarked on the panchallongs, the Palembang river is deep and navigable for native craft of considerable burthen, and nothing seems wanting but good government and freedom of intercourse to raise the importance and prosperity of this part of Sumatra.

NOTICES OF PINANG.

THE following documents, extracted from the Government records of Pinang, relate principally to the proceedings of Captain Light previous to his establishing the Settlement there in July, 1786. They may be regarded as supplementary to the series of extracts from these records, given in previous volumes of this Journal, under the same heading.

*Letter from Captain Light to the Governor-General
of India in Council.*

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,—Agreeable to the request of the Governor-General, at my departure in the month of December, 1784, I made all possible enquiries and procured every intelligence respecting the countries to the Eastward, which I now have the honor of submitting to you. But before I enter upon this subject with respect to the Dutch and Malays, I beg leave to communicate to your Hon'ble Board some circumstances relative to the French, which are certainly deserving your most serious attention.

I know from good authority that, through the interest of a Missionary Bishop, the French have obtained permission to make a settlement in Cochin-China, and for this purpose, last August sent two frigates and a store ship to take possession of a part of that country. This expedition is to be followed by two ships more. The French on their parts engaging to assist the Cochin-Chinese against the Siamese, with whom they are at war.

This Reverend Divine visited Siam, and there laid the plan of a rebellion which is now actually in execution, and had the address to procure a priest and two officers to be sent with letters to Junk Ceylon, and from thence to Pondicherry, under pretence of providing painted linens for the King and his Court. In November, 1784, the priest and officers died suddenly at Natoy, 16 miles from Junk Ceylon. On my arrival there in January, 1785, the letters and musters were delivered to me, but the Minister from Siam took back the letters, assuring me they were only invitations to merchants, but I knew they contained matters of more consequence, and were meant to prepare the way for what the Bishop is now putting in execution.

I am likewise informed but not from established authority, that

the French sent an Ambassador in July last to Ava, the capital of Pegu, and in consequence of this Embassy, the King of Ava has assembled a large army to attack Siam. It is certain the army is assembled, and the ships of all nations at Pegu stopped for the service of Government, it is most likely their first attempt will be against Siam and its tributaries which includes the whole Peninsula of Malacca.

The Empire of Ava ought not to be despised or disregarded, they have lately conquered Arracan, and are now near neighbours to us. Should the French be able to negotiate an alliance with the Court of Ava and attain so much influence as to direct the councils and armies of that haughty imperious nation, they will then become a more formidable enemy than when joined with Hyder or his successor Tippoo, as it is well known the country of Pegu can furnish provisions, timber, and in short every thing requisite for the supply of their fleets. Add to this the acquirement of Cochin-China, a rich country, the people brave, intelligent and faithful, capable of being made excellent soldiers and sailors. With such allies the enterprising spirit of the French is certainly more to be feared, than when connected only with their old friends on the Coast of Coromandel.

I must now proceed to the Dutch and Malays, the great object of my writing this letter. At the conclusion of the war in 1783, the Dutch set at all their force to attack the King of Rhio, to whose port the English resorted and procured cargoes for Canton of tin, pepper and gold. This so much offended the Governor-General of Batavia, that they declared vengeance against the King, and actually forced him to abandon his country, he however defended himself so well that the Dutch, after a long blockade of several months, in attempting to force their way into the river, lost their Commodore, a Civilian, and a ship of 54 guns blown up with 500 men, and several other vessels damaged, this put an end to the siege and forced the fleet to return to Malacca.

Upon this, the Bugis Princes, under the command of Rajah Hadjee who had settled at Rhio, being joined by the King of Salengore, immediately went and (by land) blockaded Malacca. The Dutch with all the inhabitants were constrained to live within the Lines; the Bugis continually approaching threatened the loss of the fort. The fleet from Holland with German and Swiss

troops arrived at Batavia. The Council sent them immediately to the relief of Malacca some time in July, 1784. The Dutch troops landed on the back of Rajah Hadjee's camp and stormed it, the Rajah with 4 or 500 of the principal people of Rhio were killed; as Rajah Hadjee was their General and most powerful of all the Bugis Princes, the rest immediately fled.

The Dutch then proceeded to Salengore which they found empty, the king with his followers having fled to Pahang. The Dutch at the beginning of this war wrote to the Kings of Tringanu and Quedah for assistance. The former joined them, the latter declined, excusing himself on account of war in Patany, this will account for the King of Tringanu's reception of your letter, and for the King of Quedah's earnest desire to have the Hon'ble Company for his protector. To shew alone the conduct of the Dutch towards the Malays permit me to introduce the following incident which happened last year. A Dutch Company's ship was sent to Quedah with a letter to the king for a supply of rice. At his first audience in a full assembly, the commander peremptorily ordered the king to give him two girls, the demand was instantly complied with. The insolence of the one and the terror of the other is here sufficiently displayed.

In July last, the King of Salengore having collected about 2,000 pahans crossed over to Salengore, and in the night sent a few desperadoes to massacre the Dutch, they got into the fort and wounded one of the centinals and the chief, but the garrison taking alarm killed eight of the Bugis and destroyed the rest. In the morning the Dutch being afraid of another attack embarked in their vessel and fled to Malacca, leaving all their stores, provision and ammunition undestroyed. The king took possession and still keeps it, the Dutch have stationed two large ships, and one or two small vessels off the port to prevent any English vessel from entering and actually prevented the "Nonsuch" Captain Stephenson, from going in there last July. The Dutch built a fort and garrisoned Rhio, and though they had promised this place to the King of Siak their ally, yet perceiving its strength and admirable situation as a key to the straits and a barrier to all the Islands in the China Seas, they are determined to keep it. One of their states frigates generally remains there and several small vessels.

Rajah Ally the fugitive King of Rhio with all the Bugis have taken refuge at Succadana as his letter to the Governor-General mentions, but as the Dutch have a Settlement close to Succadana there is no doubt of their using every means to destroy this prince and his family.

The King of Salengore cannot remain long in his present situation ; his people are kept together by hopes of assistance from the English, which he expects from the indulgence and preference our merchants always received from himself and his father, above any other nation.

The Dutch now possess from Point Romania to the River Kreaan Lat. 5, N. on the Malay side and they have Forts and Factories and pretended claims from Bintang or Rhio to Diamond Point on the Sumatra side. There is no part left for you to choose but the small kingdoms of Junk Salong, Acheen or Quedah.

Acheen is a good road, but no place of security against an enemy, ships cannot repair or heave down there, the country is fertile beyond description and very populous. The Inhabitants rigid and superstitious Mahomedans, sullen, fickle and treacherous. To form a Settlement there of safety and advantage a force sufficient to subdue all the chiefs would be necessary.

Junk Salong 45 miles long and 15 broad, is a good healthy island, has several harbours where ships may careen, wood and water safe in all seasons, but it will be six or seven years before it is sufficiently cleared and cultivated to supply a fleet with provisions, it is exceedingly rich in tin ore and may be fortified at a small expense ; it belongs to Siam. The inhabitants tired of their slavery are desirous of a new master.

As I understood this government had made application to the King of Quedah for the Island of Pinang without success, with the consent of the Governor-General I made use of the influence and interest I had with the king and his minister to procure a grant of the Island of Pinang to the Hon'ble Company. This island, lying in Lat. 5.20 N., has a good harbour on the east side, with deep water and soft ground, at the north end the entrance is not more than 1 mile wide and may be defended by batteries on the island and main, there is plenty of fresh water, wood and wild

cattle, the harbour full of fish. The Continent opposite Pinang is inhabited, produces plenty of rice and has abundance of cattle and poultry, it lies convenient for the ships bound to China and they may be furnished with every article procurable at Malacca. Malays, Bugis and Chinese will come to reside here; it will become the exchange of the East if not loaded with impositions and restrictions. By placing a Resident there this Government in a short time may obtain a more exact knowledge of the state and utility of the eastern commerce, and be enabled to form such alliances as may prove beneficial to the Hon'ble Company both in peace and war.

The King of Quedah who now solicits your friendship and alliance and has sent by me a grant of the Island of Pinang, has annexed to the grant some requests of which you have a copy with explanations and remarks. Quedah is a small country 150 miles long and 30 to 35 broad, contains about 100,000 inhabitants, is healthy and very fruitful, it produces in its present state more grain than is necessary for the use of the inhabitants, cattle, poultry and fish in great abundance. Its export last year was 2,000 coyans or 80,000 piculs of rice, the price of bullocks is from 3 to 5 Sp. dollars per head, of buffaloes from 4 to 6 Sp. dollars. Fowls 30 to 40 per dollar, rice 2 Bengal bazar maunds per dollar and sometimes for half a dollar, fruits are in great abundance, and vegetables will be raised by the Chinese whenever they find an interest in cultivating them.

From the foregoing and from the testimony of the most able navigators so long ago as fifty years, it is evident that this island cannot fail of being of the greatest utility to any maritime power who has large possessions on the Western Coast of India. I believe every Naval officer will allow that this island is a more eligible situation in the northerly monsoon than Bombay, a fleet can in the month of December go to the Malabar Coast, Coromandel or to any port in the Bay of Bengal with great ease and quickness, which cannot be done either from Ceylon or Bombay, and if the eastern trade is of any benefit to the English Settlements or to the Chinese trade it is now become more necessary than ever for us to have a port where ships of our nation may meet the eastern merchants. Nor will the possession and settling this island prevent your having Junk Ceylon, as a vessel may be stationed there and

you may either make it a small or large establishment as shall be found advantageous.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. Light.

Calcutta, 15th February, 1786.

The Governor-General lays before the Board the following Letters, which he has received from the Princes of the Eastern Islands.

From the King of Rhio, Rajah Ali, received February, 1786.

I send this letter to His Noble Majesty, the King of Sea and Land, from the East to the West, him who has been charged with the concerns of all the countries of the world, him who has put on the Crown of strength and dignity, him who has brought under allegiance to himself all the highest Nobles, and he is the Noble King Governor-General, who is fixed in the powerful Kingdom of Bengal, for the direction of the concerns of the World, and to him particularly belongs to manage and give orders in the affairs of the Royal English Company : may his country remain for ever in peace. After this address, should you enquire into the situation of me, your friend, I am he who praises you and returns thanks to you, who is besides drawn towards you with the greatest desire, and has hopes from you, he who writes to you his own situation with complaints, because to the best of my knowledge the greatest friendship and affection existed between me and the English Company from the time of my father and friendship did not exist with the Dutch Company, who are at this time making war against me to such a degree that I have been expelled from my native country, which is Rhio, to the port of Succadana, and this war is on account of the friendship which is between me and the English Company. After many months, Captain Glass came to me, and I asked him what was the cause that there was no person of the English Company who might assist us ? The Captain then asked me, what was my reason for not sending a letter to the Governor-General of Bengal, because the English Company and the Governor-General of Bengal first sent the English Seal and Flag. I now hope that, if you will shew friendship and affection towards me, you will assist me, and

grant to me a seal, a flag and an army, that you may maintain me, and protect me in this year, so that I may fix myself in the port of Succadana, and may all of us put ourselves under the Flag of the English Company, and may not live under the Flag of the Dutch Company, because from the time of my father, I have not chosen to be under the Flag of the Dutch Company, but have to this time been desirous to live under the Flag of the English Company since I consider them to be always my friends. If you have friendship and good will towards me grant to me in this year, all the requests which have been made in these letters. But let Capt. Glass be sent to me because he knows the customs of the Malay ports, and also he is acquainted with me, and I know him. If you have any friendship and affection towards me, send to me with Captain Glass in this year all that I have requested, such as the seal, and flag, and army, that you may protect me. I have almost conquered the town of in the great island. This letter is written on the morning of Saturday, the 16th Rubbee Assanie, 1199 Hijree.

From the King of Salengore.

A letter of friendship from Sultan Ibrahim, King of Salengore, unto our friend The Governor-General of Bengal, who governs and directs all the English Company's affairs, according to the wisdom of our friend and unto all Merchants and Captains in Bengal, if any of those remain who remember and regard our country or ourselves. Let our friend send Captain Light, or Capt. Forest, or Captain Scott, or any other Captain be sent to Salengore, that we may consult and fix upon some means of trading with the Bugis, and also that we may enter into alliance with our friend, for we are now in Salengore, and the Dutch Company's people are gone and returned to Malacca in this month on the 21st day of the moon Shaban, and whatever Captain meets with this our letter, we request he will deliver this our letter unto our friend the Governor-General of Bengal, and also we request an English flag as a signal that we are in friendship with the English Company. Now let all our friends the English Captains come to Salengore, for we are in Salengore. Done in the 22nd day of the Moon Shaban, 1199.

*Substance of a Letter from the King of Quedah to the
Governor-General.*

In the name of the most High God.

This letter wrote with the purest friendship that may last while the sun and moon endure from Paduka Sree Sultan Abdullah Makrum Shaw, who presides and rules over the country of Quedah, according to the commands of the God of all nations, unto our friend The Governor-General and King of Bengal, first among the believers in Jesus Christ, renowned for wisdom and superior knowledge in the arts of war by land and sea, and in every science known upon earth. Whereas Captain Light, Deva Rajah, came here and informed us that our friend requested Pulo Pinang. We have instantly given to our vakeel and friend Capt. Deva Rajah, to plant the Hon'ble Company's English flag upon Pulo Pinang, a place for trade, and to repair your ships-of-war, and for refreshments, wood and water. Moreover we have made known to the said Captain all our desires, which being come to the knowledge of our friend and accepted, with all possible speed send people to take possession and remain in Pulo Pinang. Whatever necessities this island does not afford shall be supplied by us from our country of Quedah.

Signed on the 26th day of the Moon Shaaval, in the year 1199 Higera.

*Conditions required from this Government by the
King of Quedah.*

1st. That the Hon'ble Company shall be Guardian of the seas, and whatever enemy may come to attack the King shall be an enemy to the Hon'ble Company, and the expense shall be borne by the Hon'ble Company.

2nd. All vessels, junks, prows, small and large, coming from either east or west, and bound to the port of Quedah, shall not be stopped or hindered by the Hon'ble Company's Agent, but left to their own will either to buy and sell with us, or with the Company at Pulo Pinang, as they shall think proper.

3rd. The articles opium, tin and rattans, being part of our revenue, are prohibited, and Qualla Muda, Prye and Kreaan, places where these articles are produced, being so near to Pinang, that

when the Hon'ble Company's Resident remains there this prohibition will be constantly broken through, therefore it should end and the Governor-General allow us our profits on these articles; viz., 30,000 Spanish Dollars every year.

4th. In case the Hon'ble Company's Agent gives credit to any of the King's relations, ministers, officers or rayats, the agent shall make no claim upon the King.

5th. Any man in this country without exception, be it our son or brother, who shall become an enemy to us shall then become an enemy to the Hon'ble Company, nor shall the Hon'ble Company's Agent protect them, without breach of this treaty, which is to remain while sun and moon endure.

6th. If any enemy come to attack, assistance from the Hon'ble Company of men, arms or ammunition; The Hon'ble Company will supply us at our expense.

*Captain Light's remarks upon the foregoing requests
of the King of Quedah.*

Article 1st. It may appear at first an article of great expense, but upon consideration will be found advantageous, for it gives to the Hon'ble Company the rights of Admiralty and the privilege of fisheries, and will prevent any other European from interloping. The same guard necessary to protect the Hon'ble Company's property, will be sufficient to guard all the coast.

The Hon'ble Company for this article may demand the free and unlimited privilege of visiting, buying, selling, wooding, watering and fishing, on and upon all the islands, bays, rivers, &c., within the King's dominions, also to search for and work any mines upon any of the islands.

2nd. This is necessary, for the King might prevent his subjects and give some trouble to strangers, were any compulsion allowed on either side.

The Hon'ble Company's agent shall have license to purchase all kinds of provision for the use of the island, or for any of their ships or vessels free of all duty in any part of the King's territories, and vessels of all denominations bound to Pinang shall not be stopped by any of his prows, or if they chance to put in to any of the ports shall suffer no detention or imposition, but be allowed to depart when they please.

3rd. This is the King's particular privilege, no one is allowed to buy opium from the ships, or to buy and sell tin or rattans, but the King's merchant or agent appointed by himself. The profits upon these articles are considerable, but as in all extraordinary impositions, when the interest is great enough to balance the risk of being detected, the revenue must suffer a great loss from smugglers, therefore the King will willingly accept of ten thousand Spanish dollars, and give up his privilege of trade in these articles to the Hon'ble Company.

4th. This Article was inserted, because Mr Monckton when he was at Quedah, obliged the King to pay the debts of those people who did not pay of themselves. As no extensive trade can be carried on without credit, the Hon'ble Company's agent should have power to seize the person and property of those indebted to him, according to the custom and usage of the country. No credit should be given to the King or to his son.

5th. This Article comprehends the principal and almost only reason why the King wishes an alliance with the Hon'ble Company, and in the Treaty must be worded with caution, so as to distinguish between an enemy endeavouring or arriving at his destruction or the kingdom, and one who may simply fall into displeasure with either the King or his Minister. The Hon'ble Company should reserve the power of protecting all persons who take shelter under their flag, if not convicted of such crimes as shall by both parties be deemed unprotectable. Treason, murder, forgery, and any other as may be deemed necessary to include; all slaves must be returned to their masters, for they are part of their property.

If any inhabitant runs away from his creditors and takes shelter in Pinang, his creditor, on making application to the Resident, shall have the same power over him as if he still remained at Quedah; the same privilege to be given to the inhabitants of Pinang.

Any servant of the Hon'ble Company, European or Indian, deserting, shall be delivered up, and the Resident may send an officer, either civil or military, who with two of the King's officers shall be empowered to search for and seize all such deserters. The King of Quedah shall not permit any European

of any nation, or any agent for any European, or Armenian* to settle in any part of his country without such person shall have a written license from the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council of Bengal or their agent in Pinang. The King shall not enter into any foreign alliance, offensive or defensive, without the knowledge and consent of the Hon'ble Company's agent. The King shall not make war without the consent of the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council unless to repel invaders.

23rd. February, 1786.

Resolved, that the following Replies be given to the conditions required from this Government by the King of Quedah which are to form a letter to him.

1st. This government will always keep an armed vessel stationed to guard the Island of Pinang and the adjacent coast belonging to the King of Quedah.

2nd. All vessels under every denomination bound to the Port of Quedah shall not be interrupted by the Hon'ble Company's Agent, or any person acting for the Company or under their authority, but be left entirely to their own free will either to trade with the King of Quedah or with the agents or subjects of the Honorable Company.

3rd. The Governor-General and Council on the part of the English East India Company will take care that the King of Quedah shall not be a sufferer by an English Settlement being formed on the Island of Pinang.

4th. The Agent of the Honorable Company, or any person residing on the Island of Pinang under the Company's protection, shall not make claims upon the King of Quedah for debts incurred by the King's relations, ministers, officers or rayats. But the persons having demands upon any of the King's subjects shall have power to seize the persons and property of those indebted to them according to the customs and usages of that country.

5th. All persons residing in the country belonging to the King of Quedah, who shall become his enemies or commit capital offences against the state, shall not be protected by the English.

6th. This article will be referred for the orders of the English

* Query :—American ?

East India Company, together with such parts of the King of Quedah's requests as cannot be complied with previous to their consent being obtained.

A letter of Friendship from the Honorable John Macpherson, Esq., Governor-General, to the King of Quedah.

Your friendly letter containing a cession of Pulo Pinang to the Honorable English Company was delivered to me by Captain Francis Light, the 6th February, 1786.

Captain Light also made known to me the requests of my friend and brother, which I, having the friendship and interest of my noble friend at heart, have already transmitted to England and the Honorable the English Company.

In the meantime I have deputed Captain Light to be Agent for the Company and have directed him to plant the Honorable Company's colours in Pulo Pinang and to defend that island against all invaders. I have likewise ordered a ship of war for the defence of this island and protection of the Coast of Quedah.

It is not my intention to subject to any duties or impediments the vessels or merchandize that may come to Pulo Pinang, but to suffer every one to go and come at their pleasure and should it happen that my friend may become a sufferer by the English Company settling at Pinang, I will take the same into consideration and recompense my noble friend and brother.

To Captain Light I have given full instructions, and hope that you my noble friend will have every reason to be satisfied with the friendship of the English Company and the good conduct of their servants.

The following is a list of presents, of which I beg your acceptance &c. &c.

*Extracts from Instructions of the Supreme Government
to Mr Light.*

We are now to proceed to give you such instructions, as, in the present stage of this business, appear necessary, previously appointing you to the charge and superintendence of the Island of Pinang on the part of the English East India Company, with the entire command of all the forces, military and marine, and with

the Government of all inhabitants, whether Europeans or Indians, who may reside there, until the pleasure of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors shall be known.

The success of this important undertaking depends entirely on the good conduct of the Conductor, and especially during its infant state. We have a very favorable opinion of your peculiar talent for the management of the business, and indeed it is from the great reliance we have on your discretion, your experience in the navigation of the eastern seas, and knowledge of the views and dispositions and language of the Malay princes, that we have been encouraged to trust the success of the undertaking entirely to your superintendence.

* * * * *

Having thus given the outlines of our ideas respecting the settlement of the Island of Pinang for the purpose of establishing a port of refreshment and repair to ships in general, we are now to consider such a Settlement in a commercial point of view.

You must be careful in avoiding disputes with the Malay Princes or with the Dutch, but after having taken regular possession of the island you will, if attacked, defend yourself, and for this purpose we desire you will take the necessary steps to make a place tenable with your little force against an enemy. In case of disturbance you will not fail to advise us and the different presidencies that succour may be sent you.

We desire you will adopt every measure in you power to apprise the different Malay chiefs of the establishment of Pinang and of our intention to give every encouragement to the commerce. For this purpose we authorize you to dispatch the "Prince Henry," as soon as the detachment and stores are landed, with the accompanying letter to Rajah Ally the fugitive King of Rhio, who we understand is at Succadana on the South Coast of Borneo.

Fort William, 2nd May, 1786.

Extracts from Captain Light's Journal.

29th June, 1786. Anchored in Quedah roads; found the "Prince Henry" and "Speedwell" and a small Portuguese grab; a ship of Chellabys had just sailed for Siam, sent an officer ashore to acquaint him of my arrival.

30th. In the morning went ashore, found the King's Merchant and Shabunder waiting to receive me; was saluted by the guns in the fort and by three volleys from the marines, sent advice to the King of my arrival and of my having brought a letter and presents.

The Bindahara, Laxamana and other officers with ten thousand rayats were encamped at the passes between Sullang and Quedah. The General of the Siamese (Joorasee), brother to the King of Siam, sent for the King of Quedah to Sangora. Afraid to trust himself with the Siamese he sent his brother-in-law with presents, which were returned with an order to come himself; he next sent his son with larger presents, these were received, and the young man admitted to an audience. The General asked him if he was come with full power from his father, if he would make war upon the Burmers, and if he would provide prowess to attack Mergue and Tavoy. To all which he answered in the affirmative. He was then sent back with titles and presents, and an order to his father to provide and send one hundred coyns of rice to Salang, and to send to the General four brass cannons, 12 pounds; with a quantity of cloth, all of which is complied with and the Malays recalled from the frontiers; but the people of Quedah are not without their fears, and with great justice, as they have during the long war between the Burmers and Siamese, sometimes sided with one and sometimes with the other as interest prevailed, nor were they much to blame as they were too weak to resist the power of the Burmers, and the Siamese not in a condition to give them protection.

Mr Gray informed me the King had frequently sent for the marines to his place of residence, 25 miles from the Qualla (river's mouth), and for a supply of cannon and arms. These Mr Gray and Captain Glass assented to and the King no doubt was willing to avail himself of the credit his force would give him, as a means to intimidate the Siamese.

1st July. Brought ashore the Governor-General's letter and presents, ships, fort and marines saluting. It was received by a guard of Malays with colours, tambours and trumpets at the gate and conducted to the Laxamana's house, where a canopy was erected, and the King's representative, a Syed, having received the letter, the guns were again fired and an apology made for the

great men being absent. The King's merchant thought the present too small and requested I would make some addition to it. I added one hundred muskets which in their situation was of more consequence than all the rest.

3rd. Received a message from the King to come with a number of the marines. I took with me the Sergeant of Artillery, 12 marines, drum and fife, we were all night pulling against a rapid stream and did not arrive till next morning. The King received me without any state and seemed much troubled, he told me there was a passage in the letter which he did not understand. It seemed to threaten him if he did not comply with the Governor-General's request, he asked me if I had a copy, I told him it must have been a mistake in the translation, and what the translator had taken for a menace to him, was meant to his enemies; he said this was probable and ordered three people each to make a separate translation. I told him that I had been detained long on my passage and requested to go to Pinang immediately. He desired me to send away the ships and people and to remain at Quedah myself for some time. This I refused, as it was contrary to the orders I had received, he then desired me to wait for the new translation of the letter. To this I assented and took my leave to return to the Qualla; we came down with the stream and arrived in six hours.

5th. Embarked part of the marines.

6th. Served fresh beef to the people.

7th. Impatient, no message from the King.

8th. Went up by myself; arrived in the morning and found the Laxamana with the king. He appeared satisfied with regard to the passage in the letter; he read the translation to me and obliged me to sign it; he then read the letter over again and remarked that the Governor-General had deferred entering into a treaty with him until an answer should arrive from Europe, and as that was the case it was needless going to Pinang and incurring an expence which might perhaps prove useless. To which I answered the greater expence was already incurred by coming there and it would make little difference whether I remained at Quedah or went to Pinang. The Laxamana then desired to know if the Honorable Company would pay the king 30,000 Spanish dollars per annum for the trade, and if not how much they would pay. I told

him I could not take upon me to declare what the Honorable Company would pay, but I was sure they would not allow the king to be a sufferer by their settling in his country without making him an adequate recompence; that at present and for some time to come the Honorable Company would receive no profit from the possession of the island; on the contrary it would be a heavy expence. He then desired to know if in case the Honorable Company's letter should not be agreeable to the King whether I would return to Bengal quietly and without enmity. To this I made no answer. I was then desired to withdraw to my boat under pretence of receiving some refreshment, and after waiting sometime I returned and the conversation was renewed. The King said he did not mean that he would be satisfied with no less a sum than 30,000 Spanish dollars, he might perhaps accept of 20, or even 10,000, but that must be in his own option. He asked me if the prows came with any tin if I would purchase it; I told him I not only should perhaps purchase it myself but that every person was at liberty to buy and sell as he pleased. That it was the custom of all English Governments to encourage commerce and not restrain it; however, to satisfy the king of our good intentions, I would allow him half of the profits upon the purchase and sale of tin, opium and rattans, which were the articles he claimed as his prerogative, but this was not to extend to any prows or vessels that might be sent to or arrive from foreign ports. This was agreed to and a paper was drawn up for that purpose which is to remain in force until the letter arrives. I then took my leave and told him I should proceed to Pinang. I then returned but as it continued a heavy rain all night, did not reach the Qualla until the morning of the 10th.

11th, 12th and 13th. Embarking the people and provisions.

14th at 5 P.M., sailed in company with the "Prince Henry" and "Speedwell" Snow.*

*Captain Light to the Governor-General, dated Pinang,
12th September, 1786.*

On my arrival at Quedah I found affairs much altered. The

* For a continuation of Captain Light's Journal, see *Notices of Pinang,—Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. iv. p. 629.

king did not appear so satisfied with our coming as I expected. This I attribute to the Policy of the Dutch; they sent an Envoy here in April to ask leave to hoist their flag in Quedah, and I suspect they gained over the Bindahara and Laxamana to their interests as these two are the most powerful. It is they that insist upon the king's receiving 30,000 Sp. dollars per annum, in expectation that it will not be complied with, and that we will sooner relinquish the island. Permit me here to give you some account of the king and his Council, that you may be better enabled to form a judgment in what manner they are to be treated. The present King is natural son to Mahomed Teva, who was king in Mr Monckton's time. His mother was a slave girl; he has one sister by the same mother married to Tuanko Chinah, and a brother, the issue of another slave. The old king had no children by his lawful wife, but he had two brothers and several nephews who thought themselves injured by the election of this bastard to the succession. In the year 1770 they raised a rebellion and brought the people of Salengore and Perah to their assistance; they entered Quedah but finding the people did not join them they burnt Allester, then a very flourishing town, and at Qualla took several of the Coast vessels and carried off a considerable deal of plunder. The old king was so much enraged at their proceedings that he forbade their ever returning to their country. The disappointed Princes retired to Salengore where they died in want and misery; only one of their children is left who lives with the present king. The old king then married his favourite son to the daughter of the Laxamana. At the old king's death, which happened in 1778, his son was acknowledged king. The old Laxamana, a man much respected, died last year, his son succeeded to the office. The king is a weak man, too fond of money, very relax in the execution of the laws; not so much from a principle of clemency as timidity, his income consists in monopolizing all the Trade and the produce of the mines. He receives likewise a deal in presents and fines. Every person who has any demand to make or suit to prefer first presents a sum of money which he thinks adequate to the demand; if the king approves of the sum, he signs the paper, and his suit is obtained unless another person comes with a greater sum. He receives a small duty upon every plough, and upon the sale of cattle and slaves. The rayats are

obliged to cultivate his lands, and to defend the country at their own charge.

The Bindahara is the first officer, he has charge of all the King's vassals; has a large portion of land and a certain number of rayats to maintain his state. He is the ranger or overseer of the forests and lands; he is General of the Army in time of war; he is of an ancient family; and although he is of a weak-understanding, and very indeterminate in his actions, yet the king dare not remove him. The Laxamana is the admiral and the king's brother-in-law, he governs all the islands and the Qualla, has charge of the Sea coast, he has a great number of dependants, and is more powerful than the Bindahara, as he has more resolution and is more steady in his attachments.

Tuanku China is an old fox. He has little to do with the Government, but being rich and having married a daughter of the old king, he bears a considerable sway in their becharas or councils. He has been discovered in an attempt to dispossess his brother by negotiations with Siam and I believe, if he can do it with safety to himself, he will prevail on the Siamese general to turn out the present king and prefer himself. He is now sent by the king to negotiate with the Siamese.

Datoo Sree Raja (formerly named Jammaul and a common coolie) is now the king's merchant; he is a deep, cunning, villainous Chuliah. By working upon the king's pusillanimity and raising jealousies, he reduced the power of the great men and engrossed the whole of the administration, by preferring only such as he thought attached to himself. To save the king from pretended assassinations, he built a small brick fort and shut him up as in a cage; no one dares presume to go to audience without his knowledge. If he found any of the great men likely to get into favor he bribed them to his interest. By monopolizing every species of commerce and oppressing the people, he found means to supply the king's necessities without his having the trouble to enquire how it came.

During the last war the French took a small vessel commanded by Captain Peters upon the Coast of Quedah. The Frenchman brought the vessel into the roads, and sent his boat ashore. The Malays seized the boat and obliged the Frenchman to give up the prize to redeem his people. Captain Peters applied to the king

for the vessel and cargo, offering one-half as a ransom. The merchant took the whole, telling the Frenchman if the kings of France and England adjudged it a lawful prize he would pay the Frenchman, if not, the English. When Captain Costyne and 5 Europeans were cut off within sight of Quedah by a Malay they had taken passenger, the serang recovered the vessel, and returned the next day into the roads in hopes of getting an officer to navigate the vessel from the English vessels in the roads. She was scarcely at anchor, when she was boarded by the Malays and carried into the river, and the whole confiscated to the king's use. Captain Scott had a sloop which a high wind drove upon the bank; without waiting to see if she was lost, the merchant plundered her of every thing. His enmity was so great against Captain Scott that he prevailed upon the king to order him out of the country. Upon his refusing to go, the king assembled all the commanders of the vessels, among whom was Captain Forrest, and asked the custom or law in Europe if a stranger was ordered by the king to go away and refused. They all declared such person might be put to death, upon hearing this Captain Scott immediately went away. By these acts the merchant made himself feared and hated by every one. Foreseeing that he should not always be able to continue in power against so many enemies, and knowing the custom of the country in case he died the king would seize his wealth, he eagerly listened to the proposal I made for giving this Island to the English, in hopes to secure a retreat for himself, although when Mr Hastings wrote by Captain Forrest he would not receive the letter as he was then in the zenith of his power.

Toanku Iea is so nearly related to the king as to be an object of jealousy, he is wise enough to keep himself free from suspicion by professing a particular regard for the king, and avoiding all kind of official greatness. He is a man of some honor and integrity, and very grateful, he advises me to strengthen myself as fast as I can and trust to none of them.

I must now further trespass upon your patience to acquaint you with the relation Quedah has to Siam. It does not appear either by writings or tradition, that Quedah was ever governed by the Siamese laws or customs, there would have been some remains had there been any affinity between them. The people of Quedah are Mahomedans, their letter Arabic, and their language Javanese;

their kings originally from Minacabo on Sumatra, but as Quedah was very near Ligore, a kingdom of Siam, they sent every third year a gold and silver tree, as a token of homage to Ligore. This was done to preserve a good correspondence, for at this period the Siamese were very rich and numerous, but no warriors; and as considerable trade was carried on between Ligore and Quedah. After the destruction of Siam the king of Ava demanded the token of homage from Quedah, and received the gold and silver tree. When Pea Sach drove away the Burmese and built a new city in Siam, the king of Quedah sent the tree to Siam, and has kept peace with both, paying homage sometimes to one and sometimes to the other, and often to both.

Last year the preparations of the Burmese were so great that the king of Quedah expected the total destruction of the Siamese. The Burmese sent to the king to demand a supply of arms and ammunition, which he complied with, though in a very scanty manner, and very politically gave the Prows which carried them, two letters, one for the Burmese and one for the Siamese; one or two of the Prows went to the Burmese while attacking Solong, the others meeting with the Siamese delivered their letters. This has been told to the Siamese General with much addition, so that it is yet a doubt if he will not destroy Quedah, for taking and destroying is exactly the same with these savages.

The Siamese General is extirpating Patany. All the men, children and old women he orders to be tied and thrown upon the ground and then trampled to death by elephants.

The King of Quedah has reasons to be afraid of such a tyrant and hopes to secure himself by an alliance with the Honorable Company, yet so little confidence is to be placed in these people that I shall not be surprised at his offering to sacrifice this new Settlement to the avarice of the King of Siam if requested.

It is therefore absolutely necessary we should have such a force here, as will defend the place against any country power, and I think three hundred and fifty Sepoys, fifty Europeans and fifty Lascars will be sufficient, and as it will be some time before buildings can be erected, one of the Bombay cruisers with two Callivats will protect the port.

Extract of a letter from Captain Light to the Governor-General in Council, dated the 5th October, 1786.

I have received a letter from the King of Quedah, in which he recapitulates his former requests, and desires to be speedily informed what allowance will be made to him for the loss of trade his country is likely to suffer from the English settling here. The present value of the King's friendship may be fairly estimated at 10,000 Spanish dollars per annum. For, although he cannot prevent the trade from coming here, nor can he stop his subjects from coming to settle here, (they will come at all hazards), yet he can stop the import of provisions; and by letting loose a gang of thieves greatly distress a young Settlement. It is therefore prudent to keep on good terms with him, until we are in a condition to provide ourselves; add that same regard is due to one who has granted an island that is likely to prove of the greatest utility and advantage to the Hon'ble Company.

Extract of a letter from Captain Light, to the Governor-General in Council, dated 25th November, 1786.

This day the King of Quedah sent his brother the Laxamana, with a letter of which the purport is as follows:—

“We have received intelligence that the King of Ava has marched his army to attack Siam, and arrived at the borders. We have also received a letter from the King of Siam commanding us to defend the Island of Junk Ceylon against the Burmese, who are expected with a fleet of prows and ships, we have sent our brother the Laxamana to accompany our friend to us that we may profit by his counsel, and consider what is best to be done for the safety of our country.”

The Laxamana is desirous I should receive a thousand of the Patany people in this island. This would be highly imprudent, while we have so small a force, especially as the Laxamana from the beginning was much averse to our coming here and wishes to expel us.

Extract from a letter from Captain Light to the Governor-General in Council, dated 25th November 1786.

I take this opportunity by the return of the ship *Success* to Bengal to enclose to your Hon'ble Board a duplicate of my last

despatches by the *Eliza*, which sailed from this the 7th ultimo. I have since had the following various applications, to all of which I have been under the disagreeable necessity of returning either evasive or negative answers.

I have received repeated solicitations from the king of Quedah to come and consult with him respecting the Siamese and people of Patany.

The king of Salengore has wrote for a British Flag and authority to hoist it upon his Fort and for sixty stand of arms, two 24-pounder iron guns, 600 shot, 18-pounders, 2,000 flints, a quantity of iron and steel and armourers tools.

The king of Tringano has wrote for Captain Glass to come and assist him, as he expected the Siamese would invade his country.

The people of Junk Ceylon after expelling the Burmese are distressed by famine, and expect another attack this season.

I have sent to the people of Junk Ceylon 500 bags of rice, in order not to lose entirely the good will of the islanders.

The Siamese have conquered Patany; such of the people as have escaped the sword are perishing in the forests, the king of Quedah being afraid to grant them admittance into any part of his country, having received from the Siamese General strict injunctions not to succour one of them, the whole race being devoted to destruction.

Yesterday the king of Quedah sent the Shabunder to enquire if I would consent to the people of Patany settling opposite to Pinang, and assist him if attacked by the Siamese.

CHINESE DOCTRINE OF THE PULSE.*

THE Chinese suppose that there are three places on each wrist, at which the pulse may be distinguished; viz. :—First, The space below the wrist bone, between that and the root of thumb, which, from its shortness, they call “The Inch;” Secondly, That immediately opposite the wrist bone, which they call “The Bar,” and Thirdly, That above the wrist bone to the elbow, which, from its length, they call “The Foot [Measure]”. These different places they suppose are connected with the five viscera, and the five elements; and this connection enables them to distinguish and discover diseases: for instance, they say:—

“The Inch” on the left hand, indicates the state of the
Heart, whose element is Fire.

“The Bar” on do. - - do. Liver, do. - - Wood.

“The Foot” on do. - - do. Kidnies, do. - - Water.

“The Inch” on the right hand do. Lungs, do. - - Metal.

“The Bar” on do. - - do. Stomach, do. - - Earth.

“The Foot” on do., likewise, indicates the state of the Kidnies.

Again, they pretend to distinguish twenty-four different kinds of pulse, which are separately discernible in each of the above mentioned places on the wrist, viz.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. A floating pulse | 13. A large or broad pulse |
| 2. A deep pulse | 14. A small or minute pulse |
| 3. A slow pulse | 15. A long or protracted pulse |
| 4. A quick pulse | 16. A short pulse |
| 5. A slippery pulse | 17. An impeded pulse |
| 6. A rough pulse | 18. A sudden or throbbing pulse |
| 7. A substantial pulse | 19. A hidden pulse |
| 8. An empty pulse | 20. A moving pulse |
| 9. A vibrating pulse | 21. A strong pulse |
| 10. A failing pulse | 22. A weak pulse |
| 11. A rapid pulse | 23. A hard pulse |
| 12. A moderate pulse | 24. A contracted pulse |

These different kinds of pulsations cannot, of course, be distinguished but by those who have been long practised in the art; and

* From the Indo-Chinese Gleaner, 1821.

skill in distinguishing them evidences a good physician in China. After having distinguished accurately the pulse of the patient, the practitioner, without inquiring of the patient the history of the disease,* or examining the fæces, or other symptoms, will readily discover the real state of the disorder, by a reference to the following table.

1. A floating pulse, if discerned in the
 Right hand "inch" is indicative of wind, headache, and stoppage in the nose.
 Left hand do. do. wind in the middle of the back.
 Right hand "bar," do. wind and phlegm in the thorax.
 Right and left hand "foot" do. wind in the lower part of the back, prevention of urine, and costiveness.
2. A deep pulse, if in the
 Right and left "inch," is indicative of shortness of breath, pain in the thorax and ribs, and discharge of phlegm, or blood.
 Right and left "bar" do. cold, pain, a relish for sour things, and contraction of the sinews.
 Right and left "foot" do. pain in the back, loins, and knees; itching in the groin, and much purging.
3. A slow pulse, if in the
 Right and left "inch," is indicative of cold in the upper extremities, pain in heart, and collection of wind.
 Right and left "bar," do. cold in the trunk, collection of semen, and contraction of the sinews.
 Right and left "foot," do. decay of natural heat, weakness and pain in the loins and knees, and in the abdomen.
4. A quick pulse,—In some tables this is left undescribed
5. A slippery pulse, if in the
 Right and left "inch," is indicative of asthma, and a fullness in the breast.
 Right and left "bar," do. heat in the stomach, difficulty of breathing, and loss of appetite.
 Right and left "foot," do. retention of urine, or dysentery; in males, an hæmorrhage, and in females, stoppage of the menses.

* We believe that in general, however, they do make inquiry about the causes and progress of the complaint.

6. A rough pulse, if in the
 - Left "inch," is indicative of pain in the heart, or great fear.
 - Right do. do. a healthy state
 - Left "bar," do. a swelling in the sides
 - Right do. do. an empty stomach
 - Right and left "foot," do. retention of urine, or dysentery ;
in females it indicates pregnancy, or pain in the womb, or
stoppage of the usual discharges
7. A real or substantial pulse, if in the
 - Left "inch," is indicative of a troubled heart, a hard tongue,
and unbending spirits
 - Right do. do. an affection of the lungs, vomiting, and belching
 - Left "bar," do. heat in the liver, and pain in the side
 - Right "bar," do. swelled stomach, and difficult breathing
 - Left "foot," do. costiveness and pain in the stomach
 - Right do. do. heat in the groin
8. An empty pulse, if in the
 - Left "inch," is indicative of apprehension and fear
 - Right do. do. injury in the lungs, and perspiration
 - Left "bar," do. affection of the liver, and deficiency of blood
in the veins
 - Right do. do. cold in the stomach and indigestion
 - Left "foot," do. decrease of animal moisture, and pains in
the loins and knees
 - Right do. do. decrease of animal heat, and a prevalence of cold
9. A vibrating pulse, if in the
 - Left "inch," is indicative of failing of blood from the heart
 - Right do. do. failing in the voice
 - Left "bar," do. hæmorrhage from the liver
 - Right do. do. dispersion of blood from the stomach
 - Left "foot," do. hæmorrhage
 - Right do. do. increase of animal heat, flowing of semen
10. A failing pulse.

This kind of pulse is indicative of the worst symptoms ; the viscera becomes weak, the stomach is injured ; vomiting and purging accompany it, with a general chilliness, loss of appetite, and pain in the stomach—difficult to cure. If the pulse beat twice and stop once, death will ensue in three or four days ; if it beat

four times and stop once, life may be prolonged to six or seven days.

11. A rapid pulse, if in the

Left "inch" is indicative of acute pains in the heart

Right do. do. cold and hoarseness

Left "bar" do. cold

Right "bar," do. loss of appetite

Left "foot," do. extreme pain below the navel

Right do. do. pain in the abdomen

12. A moderate pulse, if in the

Left "inch," is indicative of thin blood in all the hollow parts of the body

Right do. do. foul wind in the stomach

Left "bar," do. inflammation in the liver, and worms in the stomach

Right do. do. water in the stomach

Left do. do. a deficiency of seminal secretion

Right do. exhaustion in the whole frame

13. A large or broad pulse, if in the

Left "inch," is indicative of a troubled heart and foul tongue

Right do. do. fullness in the thorax, and depression of animal spirits

Left "bar," do. enlargement of the liver

Light do. do. heat in the stomach

Left "foot," do. difficulty in passing urine

Right do. do. heat in the body

14. A small or minute pulse, if in the

Left "inch," is indicative of apprehension and want of sleep

Right do. do. vomiting and fear

Left "bar," do. exhaustion of blood from the liver

Right do. do. heat in the stomach

Left "foot," do. dysentery and flowing of semen

Right do. do. cold in the lower regions

15. A long or protracted pulse, if in the

Left "inch," is indicative of internal heat

Right do. do. rising of food and wind

Left "bar," do. injury by blows, with wood or stones

Right do. do. swelling of the stomach

Left "foot," do. rumbling commotion in the side, like a young pig running about

Right do. do. numbness in the kidneys

16. A short pulse, if in the

Left "inch," is indicative of an unsettled mind

Right do. do. weakness in the lungs and headache

Left "bar" do. injury in the liver

Right do. do. pain in the breast

Left "foot," do. pain in the small gut

Right do. do. obstruction of the animal heat

17. An impeded pulse, if in the

Left "inch," is indicative of sudden death

Right do. do. weakness and perspiration

Left "bar," do. failing of blood in the veins

Right do. do. water in the stomach

Left "foot," do. exhaustion of the fluids

Right do. do. life is endangered

18. A sudden or throbbing pulse, if in the

Left "inch," is indicative of fiery heat in the heart

Right do. do. a rumbling noise in the stomach

Left "bar," do. dispersion of blood from the liver

Right do. do. the stomach does not retain blood

Left "foot," do.

Right do. do. heat

19. A hidden pulse, if in the

Left "inch," is indicative of the blood collecting in masses

Right do. do. repression of the breath

Left "bar," do. the blood of the liver descends to the belly

Right do. do. cold in the stomach

Left "foot," do. disease in the groin

Right do. do. diminution of heat

20. A moving pulse, if in the

Left "inch," is indicative of fear and apprehension

Right do. do. sweatings

Left "bar," do. fear, &c.

Right do. do. pain in the stomach

Left "foot," do. deficiency of semen

Right do. do. heat in the system

21. A strong pulse, if in the
 Left "inch," is indicative of a concealed dragon within
 Right do. do. loss of colour
 Left "bar," do. collection of blood in the liver
 Right do. do. cold, &c.
 Left "foot," do. commotion within, like a running pig
 Right do. do. dysentery and pain
22. A weak pulse, if in the
 Left "inch," is indicative of failing at the heart and apprehension
 Right do. do. injury of the lungs, perspiration, &c.
 Left "bar," do. affection of the liver and bitterness of heart.
 Right do. do. stoppage in the stomach
 Left "foot," do. difficulty in passing urine
 Right do. do. fiery heat
23. A hard pulse, if in the
 Left "inch," is indicative of pain in the heart
 Right do. do. pain in the breast and heart
 Left "bar," do. phlegm, fever, and eruptions of the skin
 Right do. do. heat in the stomach, and pain in the breast
 Left "foot," do. phlegm in the lower part of the stomach
 Right do. do. weakness and pain in the abdomen
24. A contracted pulse, if in the
 Left "inch," is indicative of the heart cold, and pained
 Right do. do. weakness of the lungs and cold
 Left "bar," do. disease in the abdomen
 Right do. do. phlegm, and loss of appetite
 Left "foot," do. loss of the use of the limbs
 Right do. do. inward cold
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CHINESE TABLES OF MERITS AND ERRORS.*

[These tables are stated to be extracted from a Chinese work called Kung-Kwo-Kih, i. e. "Merits and Errors scrutinized"—or a set of tables in which to record and balance the good and evil actions of every day and year. The following are the contents of this work :—

1. A Preface, shewing the use and advantage of the plan proposed.

2. An Introduction, containing various directions and exhortations.

3. Premonitions, or ten rules to be observed in keeping the daily register of conduct.

4. A form, or model, of a table to be kept by those who adopt the plan recommended.

5. An exhortation by Mr Leu-Tsoo.

6. Specimen lists of merits and errors with regard to the relations of life, in seven particulars, viz. in a person's conduct to parents, to brothers and sisters, to wives and concubines, to children and people, to kindred, to teachers and friends, and to domestics.

7. Ditto, with regard to the exercise of benevolence, in two particulars, viz. as to mankind, and as to the brute creation.

8. Ditto, with regard to the moral renovation, in two particulars, viz. in reference to encouraging virtue, and to discountenancing vice.

9. Ditto, with regard to maintaining reverence and watchfulness, in four particulars, viz. keeping the heart, managing of business, ordering of speech, and worshipping of the gods.

10. Ditto, in regard to the moderation and the regulation of the temper, in four particulars, viz. as to anger, as to food and clothing, as to riches, as to women.]

The first extract subjoined has reference to females.

The condition of females may be considered as a fair test of the degree of liberty existing in a nation; and their character, as the surest means of ascertaining the actual measure of virtue, or vice, in a country. What the condition and character of Chinese females are, may be gathered, indirectly, from the following list of merits and errors, extracted from the third article of the sixth

* From the Indo-Chinese Gleaner, 1821.

particular of the contents. In order to the better understanding of this list, let it be observed, that the husband, or head of the family, is the person addressed, and the merits and errors are considered as his, because he possesses authority over the females and ought to keep good rule in his own house. But the merits and errors may be extended, the writer says, to any female, (in as far as applicable) who chancas to be the mistress of a house.

LIST OF MERITS IN REGARD TO WIVES AND CONCUBINES.

"THE thing of first consequence here is, to renovate the females in a family, so as that a spirit of mutual affection and friendship may be cherished among them."

PARTICULARS.	CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF MERITS.
1. To guard the female apartments with rigor.	For one day	1
2. To teach females with a mild and cheerful countenance.	For each time	1
3. To cause them to curb their temper and dispositions.	For ten days running	1
4. To cause them to reform their errors.	e. g. Want of filial piety — quarrelsomeness — ill-nature. For each evil reformed	1
5. To put a stop to their scolding.	For a month	1
6. To teach them to be careful and cleanly in the kitchen.	For each day	1
7. To teach them to rise early, diligently to attend to family affairs, spinning, weaving, &c.	Ditto	1
8. To teach them cheerfully to work, and not put the labor upon their sisters-in-law.	Ditto	1
9. To hinder them from gadding to see plays acted.	For each instance	5
10. To hinder them from going to the temples to burn incense.	Ditto	5

PARTICULARS.	CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF MERITS.
11. To teach them to be humane and kind to female slaves.	For each instance	20
12. To teach them to be dutiful to their father and mother-in-law.	Ditto	50
13. To teach them to agree with their sisters-in-law.	Ditto	50
14. To teach wives and concubines not to be jealous of each other.	Ditto	50
15. To teach them to be benevolent & virtuous.	Ditto	100

LIST OF ERRORS.

PARTICULARS.	CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF ERRORS.
1. Not to keep the female apartments in rigorous seclusion.	For one day	1
2. To allow the women to lie long in bed in the morning, to be lazy, to steal rest, and to neglect their work.	Ditto	1
3. To suffer a second wife to mal-treat the children of the former wife	Ditto	1
4. To suffer them to keep the bowls and plates in a filthy state, and to cook the food in dirty style.	Ditto	1
5. To forbear to do a proper thing, because the wife or concubines oppose it.	For each instance	1
6. For a man to take a concubine, while he has already a son, and thus causelessly to put disgrace on his wife.	For every day	1
7. To suffer the women to commit their own proper work to their sisters-in-law, from an unwillingness to work.	Ditto	2

PARTICULARS.	CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF ERRORS.
8. To allow them to scold.	For every day	5
9. To beat and oppress wives and concubines.	For each instance	5
10. To allow them to ramble to see plays and comedies.	Ditto	10
11. To allow them to go and worship in the temples.	Ditto	10
12. When a man has errors, and is advised and entreated by his wife and concubines to reform; (and he will not, but) on the contrary rages and scolds them.	Ditto	10
13. To indulge them in doing one evil act.	To be reckoned as if done by himself	
14. To follow his own wife and children so as to neglect his duty to his parents and brothers.	For each instance	10
15. When a man, whose wife is forty years, or upwards, is still without a son, and suffers himself to be hindered from taking a concubine, to insure a male heir, because it does not suit the jealous humour of his wife.	For every year's delay	20
.....	The jealous wife who creates the delay	40
16. To suffer them to be hard upon the female slaves.	For each instance	30
17. To use inhuman punishments, (e. g. pinching, or burning the skin, tearing out the hair, &c.) in correcting wives and concubines.	Ditto	50
18. To allow them to neglect their duty to their father and mother-in-law.	Ditto	100

PARTICULARS.	CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF ERRORS.
19. To allow them to quarrel with their sisters-in-law.	For each instance	100
20. To be partial in his love and favors to them.	Ditto	100
21. When rich to cast off the wife, [whom he espoused while poor.]	Ditto	100
22. [When indulgence is suffered to go so far as that] a wife disgraces and rules over her husband.	Ditto	100

The very dependant and degraded state of females in China will be partly seen from this extract. They are, moreover, not allowed the confidence of their husbands, nor to sit at table with them, nor to have a voice in domestic concerns, nor to visit the temples, where the prayers of the unfortunate are supposed to find access. Religion is denied to them. Little attention seems paid to the peculiar circumstances in which, as wives and mothers, they may be placed. "Rise; run; work; eat little; spend little; be silent; keep out of sight; obey; bear; and rather bleed, starve, and die, than dare to complain"—is the genuine language of the above extract to Chinese females; and though, fortunately for them, humanity, common sense, and interest, in many cases, plead in their favor, and procure a relaxation of the rigor of ethical and legislative restrictions, yet where such restrictions have the sanction both of public opinion, and of supreme authority, how is it possible to prevent their hurtful operation on this tender half of human nature?

The sentiments of the Chinese concerning concubinage may be partly learnt from this extract, and they are in substance thus: To keep no concubine is considered, upon the whole, reputable to a man. To keep many, under any circumstances, is deemed disreputable. To keep several, if able to maintain them, is not considered a sin. To neglect to take one when a man's wife has reached her fortieth year, without bringing him a son, is considered a heinous sin; and one of the greatest instances of disrespect to his ancestors, and disregard of his parents, of which he can be guilty.

The next extract relates to the subject of general benevolence, and, along with some things childish, ridiculous, and absurd, presents some that are excellent and instructive.

BENEVOLENCE.

“First, in regard to mankind.”

PARTICULARS.	MERITS. CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF MERITS.
1. To lodge and feed a person who has no means of support.	For each day	1
2. To give a meal to a hungry person.		1
3. To give a garment to one suffering from cold.	To the value of 100 Tseen*	1
4. To give drink to ten thirsty persons.	Ditto	1
5. To do any thing that proves convenient and profitable to others.	For each instance	1
6. To bestow a medicine that proves efficacious.	Ditto	1
7. To assist the poor and needy.	To the amount of 100 Tsean	1
8. To take care not to lose letters committed to one's care.	For each instance	1
9. To light up a bright lamp, to show travellers the road.	For each night	1
10. To serve out warm ginger soups in the winter months to the poor.	To the value of 100 Tseen	1
11. To serve out tea in hot weather.	Ditto	1
12. To lend an umbrella, or a rain-cap, in rainy weather.	For each instance	1
13. To assist persons to bear the expense of their marriage.	For each 100 Tseen	1
14. To assist persons to bear the expenses of funeral obsequies, and to bury the dead.	Ditto	1

* About 720 Tseen go to a dollar.

PARTICULARS.	CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF MERITS
15. To redeem another person's son or daughter (that may have been sold through the poverty of the parents.)	For each 100 Tsees	1
16. To aid a poor stranger to return to his own country.	Ditto	1
17. To provide a burial place for the poor, and for strangers.	Ditto	1
18. To repair roads, make bridges, clear out the bottom of rivers, and dig wells.	Ditto	1
19. In times of scarcity to serve out rice, with upright motives.	Ditto	1
20. To administer medicines when an epidemic rages.	Ditto	2
21. To redeem persons from punishment.	For each instance	2
22. To plan well for others.	Ditto	3
23. To cure effectually a slight disease.	Ditto	3
24. To exert one's self in a small matter for the public good.	Ditto	10
25. To give to others any thing that can protect or be profitable to their person and life.	Ditto	10
26. To cover a coffin.	Ditto	10
27. To bury a bone.	Ditto	10
28. To prevent an abortion.	Ditto	20
29. To save one from a light punishment.	Ditto	20
30. To cure a serious disease.	Ditto	30
31. To exert one's strength to protect fatherless children and widows, when he sees them despised and injured.	Ditto	30
32. To release one from a pressing difficulty.	Ditto	30

PARTICULARS.	CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF MERITS.
33. To give the wood of a complete coffin.	For each instance	30
34. To clear up a slight case of injustice for others.	Ditto	30
35. To remove one man from danger.	Ditto	30
36. To give the ground to make a grave for one person.	Ditto	50
37. To save from a great difficulty, a person without a home.	Ditto	50
38. To save an infant from being drowned.	Ditto	50
39. To rescue and reform a worthless person.	Ditto	50
40. To save a man from the lesser banishment.	That is only such as suffer wrong, and ought to be delivered.	50
41. To save one from the greater banishment.	That is one such as suffers wrong, and ought to be delivered; for otherwise it is an error to attempt to deliver them	50
42. To bury a person who is without friends.		100
43. To aid persons in forming a suitable marriage.		100
44. To save a person's life.	The Yun Keith Tseen says, such an act will prolong one's life for twelve years.	100
45. To protect and nourish a child who is without any on whom to depend.	For each instance	100
46. To assist one's heir to prolong the patrimony.	Ditto	100
47. To deliver a person from a great wrong.	Ditto	100
48. To keep a family complete, and prevent it from being broken up.	Ditto	100
49. To set on foot some very profitable invention.	Ditto	100

PARTICULARS.	CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF MERITS.
50. To exert one's strength in the great public services of a country.	For each instance	100
PARTICULARS.	ERRORS. CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF ERRORS
1. For a very rich man to mock the poor.	For each instance	1
2. Intentionally to expose other people's secret things.	Ditto	2
3. When poor people feelingly complain and apply for help, not to give them so much as a picc.	Ditto	2
4. To threaten and deceive others.	Ditto	3
5. To be unfaithful while acting for others.	Ditto	3
6. To mock an ignorant person.	Ditto	3
7. To reprove one who merits not reproof.	Ditto	3
8. To lose the letters of other men, confided to one's care.	Ditto	3
9. To conceal an invention of real and proved utility.	Ditto	10
10. To mock and put to shame, helpless orphans	Ditto	10
11. To make sport of deformed persons, whether old or young.	Ditto	10
12. To envy the prosperity of others.	Ditto	10
13. To be glad at other men's calamities.	Ditto	10
14. To obstruct, or cut off, the passages to streets, to bridges, or to fords.	Ditto	10
15. For medical men to be negligent in the treatment of a disease.	Ditto	20
16. Not to save a proper object of pity.	Ditto	20
17. To tread down people's grain.	Ditto	30

PARTICULARS.	CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF ERRORS.
18. To scheme, in order to involve persons in crime that merits light punishment.	For each instance	30
19. To be blockish in one's occupation, and, through stupidity, to injure others.	Ditto	30
20. To injure or destroy public wells, bridges, or fords, made by the public or individual liberality.	Ditto	30
21. Seeing others suffer injustice, and not to right them when it is in one's power so to do.	Ditto	30
22. Seeing the fatherless & widows oppressed & put to shame, and not to deliver them when he has it in his power.	Ditto	30
23. To involve one person in misery, (or, literally, in a wretched marriage).	Ditto	50
24. To level a tomb with the ground.	Ditto	50
25. When digging in the ground, one meets with bones and skeletons, and carelessly casts them away.	Ditto	50
26. To contribute, in any way, to a woman's miscarriage.	Ditto	50
27. To be the cause of a person's wandering from his home.	Ditto	50
28. Seeing a person near to death, not to rescue him when it is in one's power so to do.	Ditto	
29. To assist a person in drowning a female infant.	Ditto	50

PARTICULARS.	CIRCUMSTANCES.	RATE OF ERRORS.
30. From secret jealousy and discontentment, to upset a person's family.	For each instance.	100
31. To destroy a person's tomb.	Ditto	100
32. To dig up a corpse.	Ditto	100
33. For medical gentlemen to scheme for their own gains, to the injury of men's lives.	Ditto	100
34. To mix up a poisonous potion.	For example, Narcotic drugs, or medicines, that cause abortion, deprive of the use of speech, and occasion death in a fixed space of time—Opium and such like.	100
35. To render a worthy person contemptible.	For each instance.	100
36. To place a gin, or dig a pit, in the way, in order to injure others.	For each individual injured	100
37. To occasion a person's suffering the lesser banishment.	For each instance.	100
38. By legerdemain, or witchcraft, to endanger men's lives.	Ditto	100
39. To drown or murder a child.	Ditto	100
40. To devise a person's death.	Ditto	100
41. To effect a person's banishment for life.	Ditto	150
42. To cut off a man's heirs.	Ditto	200

A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF SHAN, KA-KYING
AND PA-LAONG.

By the Right Rev. PAUL AMBROSE BIGANDET, Bishop of Kamatha,
Coadjutor in charge of the Mission of Ava and Pegu.

BISHOP BIGANDET in a letter accompanying this vocabulary makes the following remarks :—

The collection of words which I send is far from being complete. The Governor of Bhamo, though apparently my friend, watched me very closely and by underhand proceedings prevented the natives, with the exception of the Burmese, from holding a free intercourse with us. It was after having threatened to report his behaviour towards us to the King, that he voluntarily allowed some of them to come to me for a few minutes, but afterwards, under various pretexts, he kept them at a distance from us. During this brief intercourse with these people I hurriedly gathered these words. You may be sure that I have written the sounds that I heard as accurately as possible.

In the first column you will find Shan words. The Shans with whom I had intercourse at Bhamo live to the east and south-east of that place in vallies and table lands, beyond the great range that forms the eastern boundary of the valley of the Irawadi. They belong to one of those countless tribes of Shans that swarm over the countries stretching from the vallies between China and Tibet in the north, to the Gulf of Siam in the south. The Shan tribes united would form the most formidable state in Eastern Asia. They occupy all the territories between the Irawadi and the mountains of Anam. As regards the language spoken by the Shans of Bhamo, you will see that it entirely resembles the Siamese. In fact they are two dialects of the same language. After an intercourse of a few days with these Shans, a Siamese would understand them and make himself understood. This fact may enable you to draw conclusions of great importance as regards both ethnography and philology. The Shan language and the Shan tribes deserve the greatest attention. At a not very remote period mighty must have been the influence of this race over the territories above alluded to. Compare the Shan with the Chinese, especially with the dialect of Yun-nan and with the dialects of the Tibetans inhabiting the valleys between Tibet and

China, and you will, I venture to say, arrive at some important scientific results.*

The second column contains Ka-king words. This people inhabit in great numbers the mountains north, east and south-east of Bharno. To be short, their habits, mode of living, cultivating the ground &c., are similar almost entirely, to those of the Khiins (Khyengs) and Karens. By what links can they be connected with the Shans and Burmans, it is left to you to pronounce. Endeavour to compare the scanty supply of words I send you with the Karen languages; perhaps you will find some resemblances.† My *compagnon de voyage* the Rev. M. Barbe, who is probably now at Pinang, will be able to give you some particulars regarding the dress and physical appearance of these mountaineers.

The third and last column exhibits Pa-laong words. These Pa-laongs inhabit the vallies South-east of Bharno, beyond the first range of mountains. They seem to occupy a position, in a social point of view, midway between the Shans and the Ka-kyings. They approximate more to the former. They have the same dress and religion as the Shans, that is, they are Bhudists.

* See the remarks on the history of the Lau or Shan race, *ante* p. 70 &c. and on the wide prevalence of the language p. 87, *notet*. Primarily it is East Himalaic like Mon, Kambojan, Anam and Pa-laong,—like them it was carried at a remote period into the Brahmaputra-Gangetic province and received some Dravirian roots,—subsequently it shared in the great eastern movement of the Himalaic dialects from the basin of the Ganges into that of the Irawadi where it was intimately connected with some of the intrusive West Himalaic or Tibeto-Burman dialects,—it was then pressed further to the east into the basins of the upper Me-keung and Ton-king and became the language of Yun-nan,—during the Han dynasty Chinese colonies began to occupy the vallies of Yun-nan and from that time Lau was exposed to the influence of Chinese, and began to receive the modified form it possessed when the pressure of that great race on the older tribes of Yun-nan caused the Lau to swarm to the westward and southward. When they re-entered the basin of the Irawadi they had acquired from their partial Chinese civilisation a superiority over the Tibeto-Burman tribes of northern Ultratindia which made the Lau clans predominant in the central belt of Ultratindia from the Himalaya to the mouth of the M. Irawadi. The only later changes in the language have been a further decay in the phonology and the accession of a few vocables. In its primary East Himalaic form it had prefixes like its sister dialects. A few remnants are still found, the prefix in these being generally concentered with the root e. g. *kh-rai*, *kh-ai* *egg*, *p-la*, *p-a* *fish*, *k-lu*, *k-u* *salt*. These examples illustrate that metamorphosis of a quasi dissyllabic into a monosyllabic form which has assimilated so many of the Himalaic dialects to the Chinese, and gives rise to the question whether traces of a similar process may not be discoverable in Chinese itself. The slowly advancing Chinese affects all the languages on its western margin, from Anam to Bhotian, as an active plutonic intumescence affects the strata contiguous to it. By its subtle and prolonged influence it gradually impairs the original form.

† The Ka-kying being identical with Sing-pho, my remarks on the relations of that dialect to the Burman, Karen &c. apply to Ka-kying.

J. R. L.

J. R. L.

They are probably one of the offshoots of that great body. You will perceive a great affinity between their language and that of the Shans.

In a few sentences of the Pa-laong language that I have collated, I have remarked that the construction is direct, without inversions; that is to say, the subject is first, then follows the verb and next the object. Prepositions are placed before the words they govern.

In the Ka-kying, on the contrary, there is inversion. The subject is first, then follows the object, and at the end the verb. From the difficulties I met in questioning the natives of this tribe, I have not been able to ascertain the position of the preposition relatively to its object.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Shan.</i>	<i>Ka-khung.</i>	<i>Pa-laong.</i>
straight	tsi tsi	malang	tshi
crooked	kowot	mako	kaouk
square	tsi tsein	mali	phouk plak
round	moun		ipong
long	yao	kalou	dong
broad	kuang	kapa	kaweu
thick	nā		hāt
thin	mang		kha
deep	anlam	tso ong	klun
high	tsoong	kalou	dja
short	pou ot	katoun	
light (in weight)	mao	ali	deu
heavy	nak		djan
above	kaneu		kéléin
below	kantacu		kekéon
behind	kanlang		kū'bau
before	kana		kii ai
between	wonkang		kadai
here	kane		pani
there	panan		patouè
far	kā-i		dong
near	kaeu		dā
where	kanacu		pahmè
now	tsangngāé	ya	

<i>English.</i>	<i>Shan.</i>	<i>Kahkung.</i>	<i>Pe-laong.</i>
tomorrow	mapho	pou or ni	
yesterday	mawa	mani	
old	ankao	tein la	apum
new	anma-cu	ning nau	tamai
slow	loé	ya yak	plii
rapid	khān		khian
strike	téin	anou	ngoh
break	phā	kā	kābak
open	houi	pho	vheu
shut	hap	tsinkala	bhi
light	liing	to aè	plang
darkness	laptséin	nin sin	ha
black	lām	akian	vang
white	anpheu	apron	louii
red	anlaing	akein	rān
yellow	anteun	atsit	tān
blue	anpiā		lā
green	ankieo		ngieu
country		le mougā	
earth	lang lin	ka	ketai
stone	mahin	long	mao
gold	kham	tcha	khii
silver	ngun	camprong	nehun
iron	lèk	phii	lek
mountain	loè	phoum	nau
valley	hoi	phoum kiet	kado
plain	lin pieing	let yan	
island	khoun	kha khaang	koun
water	nām	en tsin	em
sea	pang lai		empan laè
river	nam kio	kha	em nam kiéo
wind	loum	bong	khou
north	naaong	worak ran	pahaong
west	wantok	lena	wantok
south	pactzan	kanawa	patzan
east	wanhōk	tsemp	wanhok
cloud	mōk	ma mie	

<i>English.</i>	<i>Shan.</i>	<i>Kakhung.</i>	<i>Palaong.</i>
rainbow	hoong	kié-nam	
rain	fontok	merantou	k lai
lightning	fam me		plan hem
thunder	whua lang	lemou ngouai	falang
day	liet	tsam	kashanei
night	kan kham	tsandou	kaisem
morning	tsao tsao	manap tsao	
sun	kan wan	tsan	sengei
noon	wantè		sengei ta dzang
sky		lemou	
moon	leun	tsata	pakien
star	lao	shigan	lao
hot	mai		tã
fire	fai	wan	gnal
smoke	fai kouan	wan kout khou	tak gnal
ashes	tao		
cocoanut	na oun		
plantain	koé	lengou tsi	kloi
paddy	khaol	mām	hgno
rice	khaot san	mam hou	rekao
pumpkin	mapak moun	khoun jam	klon
tree	toun	phoun	tang aè
root	hak meum	phoun pot	
leaf	maeu meun	lap	hla
flower	mok meun	nam pan	
fruit	mak maí	atsi	ploi
elephant	tsan	ma koui	tsang
tiger	tseu	tsarong	levai
horse	ma	kamuang	crang
buffalo	khoaè	nga	kra
cow	ngo miè	tom tsou	mak
deer		tsogü	
goat		pain am	
dog	ma	koui	tsao
hog	mou	wa	lé
monkey	lalcin	lawé	fa

<i>English.</i>	<i>Shan.</i>	<i>Kakhung.</i>	<i>Pa-laong.</i>
cat	miao	le ngiaong	ngiaong (amêo)
mouse	nouoan	you	toun mè
rat	khuaè lon	you kaba	hnai
squirrel	lāhōk	kadauka	lehok
bird	nou	vhou	sim
domestic fowl	kae	vhou	ieu (ior)
duck	piet	yā	net
sparrow		vongashia	simrao
crow	ha	kakha	ka
snake		labou	hān (hon)
fish	pa	nga	ka
bee	phun	lekat	phieu (phieur)
mosquito	iong	tsi krong	tsao
ant	mat		brou gnè
horn	khao		nong
tail	shān		seta
wings	pit		piang
egg	kaikai	whou di	beun iu (kraior)
honey		kakhan	ēm phieu
wax	khi pun	katsout	plām
body	to	khoum	to
head	ko	paong	kun
hair	khounho	kalā	shiok kin
face	laphat	man	
ear	mahou	na	hiok
eye	weta	mī	metsi (ngai)
nose	khoulang	sedi	kadong mo
cheek	tien	shebi	
mouth	pak	ningoou	moi
lip	tsouop	mintian	mac kiem
tooth	khio	wā	rong
tongue	lin	khiin let	kata
hand	mhi	let la	taé
finger	niè mhi	le iong	
thumb	niou	iong no	thanau taé
nail	lit mhi		rhim
belly	ton	kan	wat

<i>English.</i>	<i>Shan.</i>	<i>Kahlung.</i>	<i>Pa-laong.</i>
foot	tin	nego	djeun
bone	loak		kaang
skin	lan	san kao	houé
flesh		shian	yang
fat	kounpi	kaba	klañ
lean	youam	katsé	lega
blood	let	tsan	hnàm
sweat		tsalat	
hard		tsia	kien
soft		kadjadja	dzam
hot	māi	kathet	
cold	kat	katsoong	
thirsty	ton mài leu		hat (em)
hungry	ip khao		hat (pum)
sour			biang
sweet	wam	mouai	gnam
bitter	khoum	kha	tsang
fragrant	houam		houngou
stinking	miin		hou
sick	tsip	matsi	tsao
dead	taiaok	tsi tsat	yam hiok
cat	kiim	shia et ai	hom (pum)
drink	kiiun	lou ai	tsoong
see	hammiauk	mou ai	teu
weep		krabei	yam
speak	tam khuam		klañ
hear	lai giuin		
sleep	nuan	yup ei	i
forget		malapei	jao
yes	tsaulaouk	raisa	mau hau
no	matsau	ngrai	hou mho
beautiful		praeu	tsi
love	packun	raei	kamet
hate	maka eun	ngei-mura	kahi
good		katsha ei	hmam hok
bad		n-ge katsha	dzas
come	māmā	tsamou	det
go	kua kua	wua mou	hao

<i>English.</i>	<i>Shan.</i>	<i>Kahlung.</i>	<i>Pa-laong.</i>
give	pan	tso mou	dhet
take	houkua	la mou	thet
bring		latsamou	let deu
take away		la wa mou	thet lae
kill	fundai	tsat kao	
I	khaou	ngal	do ka
thou	maeu	nango	mai
he, she, it	maeu	nango	an
we	haou	hi ten ma	ie patzen
you	maen tsau	niŋen	tseukè
they	mautso	khie in	matihā
who	paeulè	kada é	
rice (nasi)	khao	shiat	pam
sugar	khewan		
oil	naman		naman
milk	tsou	akhio	embou
salt	khū	khium	tset
earring	pūhou	legān	shiok
house	hun	inta	kalep
posts		tsado	pan
door	pado	tsinka	
ladder	kho	lekan	nedè
mat	tsat	tska tai	empé
box	citta		
road	khoun tang	lam	dan
bridge	kho	makai	kabeuk
bow	kaang	ko-ong-li	
arrow	lem boun	panla	
spear	hāk	ári	yeu
boat	lī		kale
canoe	heu	alī	
man	koun	masha	toui
woman	pai in	neūn	ipan
husband	pho meu	nam dou wa	ta ipan
wife	me meu	nam dou tsan	ipan an
father	ouhao	awa	koun
mother	miebao	anī	ma
child	louk	kashia	kouan

<i>English.</i>	<i>Shan.</i>	<i>Kakhung.</i>	<i>Pa-laong.</i>
son	louk tsae	lashia	kou an emai
daughter	louk ien	nungshia	kouan ipan
old	tao	tein la	ga
young	nām	shap rang	inhim
sword		mintho	
chopping knife		metho	bo

Numerals in Kakeing.

1 ngè, 2 onkong, 3 mesong, 4 meli, 5 menga, 6 kaou, 7 senit, 8 matsat, 9 tiekho, 10 shi, 11 shilengè, 12 shilonkong, &c. 20 koun, 21 kounlengè, 22 koun onkong, &c. 30 tsong meshi, 31 tsong meshi ngè, &c. 40 melishi, 50 mengashi and so forth, to 100 letsa, 1000 moun mi, (my informant could not count beyond the number indicated by the figures 1000.)

Numerals in Palaong.

1 hé, 2 è, 3 oé, 4 phoun, 5 phan, 6 to, 7 phou, 8 ta, 9 tim, 10 keu, 11 keu-lé, 12 keu è, &c., to 20 è keu, 22 è keu lé, &c., 30 oè keu, 40 phoun keu &c., to 100 oupe a, 1000 hou éin, 10,000 hou moun, 100,000 hou tsem.

Numerals in Shan.

1 neun, 2 tsong, 3 tsam, 4 tsi, 5 ha, 6 houk, 7 tsat, 8 piet, 9 kao, 10 sib, or sit &c., 20 tsao liu, 30 tsam sib, 40 tse sib, &c. &c., 100 paklin, 1000 hein lung, 10,000 moun lung, 100,000 lēn lung, 1,000,000 lok lung.

THE WEST HIMALAIC OR TIBETAN TRIBES OF ASAM,
BURMA AND PEGU.

By J. R. LOGAN.

THE KA-KYING.

THIS people were noticed in the general account of the distribution of the tribes of the Irawadi basin.*

A few weeks ago I received from my learned friend Bishop Bigandet a comparative vocabulary collected by him at Bha-mo during his recent visit to that place. It comprises three languages the Shan, the Kha-kyeng or Ka-kiing and the Pa-laong. The Shan is well known, but no examples of the other two tongues have hitherto been obtained. The Ka-kying proves to be Sing-pho, with very slight dialectic variations.

I have given Bishop Bigandet's vocabularies in full, without any alteration. The subjoined analysis and comparison of some of the Ka-kying words will establish the fact. that it is Sing-pho. My readers may refer to the Sing-pho vocabulary which I have already given.†

PRONOUNS AND DEFINITIVES.

1. *I* ngai. *We* hi ten ma.
2. *Thou* nango *You* ni ten.
3. He &c. ? nango. *They* khie in ma li ha.

Ngai, *I*, is Singpho. *Thou* is the S. nang vocalicised. The 3d pronoun nango must be a clerical error. The Singpho khi is found in the plural. In the plurals the Singpho teng of the 2d is found as ten in both 1st and 2d. The pronominal element hi of the 1st corresponds with the Singpho i. That of the 2d, ni, is also a Singpho form. The plural postposition in of the 3d is the the ni of the Singpho khi-ni.

Ka-dae, *wha*, is the Singpho ga-dai-ma.

NUMERALS.

1. Nge; peculiar; ai-ma Singpho; nge is one of the current forms of the Tibetan 2.
2. on-khong; n-khong S.
20. kun; khun S.
21. kun-le-nge.

* Ante, p. p. 76, 77.

† Ante, p. 106.

3. *me-song* ; *ma-sum*, S.
4. *me-li*, S.
5. *me-nga* ; *ma-nga*, S.
6. *ha-u* ; *k-ru*, S.
7. *se-nit* ; *si-nit*, S.
8. *ma-tsai*, S.
9. *tse-kho* ; *tse-khu* S.
10. *shi* ; *si* S.
11. *shi-le-nge* ; *si-ai* S.
12. *shi-l-on-khong*
30. *tsong-me-shi*.
40. *me-li-si*.
50. *me-nga-shi*.
100. *le-tsa* ; S. *lat-sa*.
1000. *mun-mi*.

MISCELLANEOUS WORDS.

1. *Names of Natural Objects.*

Wind bong ; S. *m-bong*.

Sky le-mu ; S. *ma-mo*.

Sun tsan ; S. *tsan*.

Day tsam (*night* tsan-du) ; the word for *sun* S. has the later Bhoto-Sifan and Yuma.

Light Gangetic ni.

Fire wan ; S.

Moon tsa-ta ; S. *sa-ta*.

Star shi-gan ; S. *si-gan*, *sa-kan* &c.

Earth ka ; Jili *ta-ka*, Sak *ka* &c.

Mountain phum ; S. *bum*, Manipuri *phung* &c.

Stone long ; S. *n-long*, Jili *ta-long*.

Water en-tsin ; S. *n-tsin*

River kha ; S.

Blood tsan ; S. *sai*. The Kha-kieng is the archaic form, to which tsin *water* also adheres.

Oil

Milk

2. *Names of Parts of the Body.*

Head paong ; S. *bong*, Abor *pong* &c.

Hair ka-la ; S. *ka-ra*.

Eye mi ; S.

Mouth ning-u; ning-gup

Tooth wa; S.

Ear na; S.

Hand let-ta; S.

Foot ne-go; S. la-gong.

Bone

Horn

Skin san kao.

Names of Family and Social Relations.

Man ma-sha; Jili n-sang, Pwo Karen p-sha.

Woman neun; S. num sya, Kyau mother nung.

Husband nam du wa.

Wife nam du tsan; S. num sya.

Child ka-shia.

Son la-shia; S. la sya.

Daughter nung-shia.

Father a-wa.

Mother a-nu

Names of Domestic and of some Wild Animals.

Cat le ngiaong; Jili te-ngyan.

Dog kui; S. kui.

Hog wa; S. wa.

Goat pai-nam; S. pai-nam.

Cow tom tsu; S. kan-su.

Buffaloe nga; S. nga.

Elephant ma kui; S. ma-gui.

Horse kam-rang; S. kam-rang.

Tiger tsa-rong; S. sa-rong.

Monkey la-we; Jili ta-we.

Fish nga; S. nga.

Snake la-bu; S. la-pu, Jili ta-pu.

Bird vhu; S. wu.

Words of Art.

House in-ta; S. n-ta.

Road lam; S. lam.

Arrow pan-la, S. pa-la.

Iron phii; Jili ta-phi.

Salt khium; S. chum, tsum.

NOTES ON PA-LAONG.

By J. R. LOGAN.

THE Pa-laong is the most interesting linguistic discovery that has been made in Ultraindia during this century. It adds another to the small list of East Himalaic or pre-Tibetan dialects of Ultraindia. I have not examined the vocabulary closely, but a glance shows it to be much more akin to the Anam, Kambojan and Mon than to the Tibeto-Burman dialects. It has some specific affinities with Kasia and with the tongues of the ruder tribes of Kamboja,—the Chong &c. It has Manipuric affinities like the other Mon-Anam dialects. Of the vocables common to it with Lau, many appear to be modern acquisitions, a consequence of the long contiguity of the Pa-laong with the Shan.

Its relations to the various dialects with which it has been in contact in the course of the migrations to which it, like all the other Ultraindian tongues, has been exposed, will be examined in the Mon-Anam section of my general enquiry. At present I shall merely adduce sufficient evidence of its being a Mon-Anam language.

The collocation, Bishop Bigandet remarks, is direct, like East Himalaic and not inversive like West Himalaic. The vocables have often the broad and diphthongal forms of the older Himalaic phonology; and the Mon-Anam and Yuma-Manipuric final *ai*, *ei*, occurs, e. g. *tai earth* (te Mon, di Songpu); *tsao dog*, *ngei sun*.

It has some remnants of the archaic prefixal system, *k* being the most common e. g. *ka-beuk bridge*, *ka-le boat*, *ka-sha-nei day*, *ka-i-sem night*, *ka-lep house*, *ke-tai earth*, *ka-do valley*, *k-lai rain*, *k-loai plantain*, *k-lon pumpkin*, *k-rang horse*, *k-ra buffalo*. A few examples of the labial occur, e. g. *pz-kien moon*, *b-la leaf*, *p-loei fruit*, *p-lang light*.

The pronouns and several of the numerals are Mon-Anam, that is archaic Himalaic and North Dravirian (Kol &c.)

Like all the other Mon-Anam vocabularies Pa-laong has strong Manipuric affinities. These are referable to the relations that subsisted between the Mon-Anam tribes and the first Tibeto-Burman swarms before the former were pressed to the southern and eastern borders of Ultraindia. Kasia is the only dialect that retains a strong Mon-Anam ingredient, although now separated

from all the pure dialects of this branch. Some of the Pa-laong forms of the common roots are similar to the Kasja, e. g. *mao store*, *em water*, *se-ngei sun*, *nham blood*. The Manipuri affinities are equally distinct, e. g. *tai earth*, *mak cow*, *moi mouth*.

PRONOUNS AND DEFINITIVES.

1. *I* do ka *We* ie pa-tzeu.
2. *Thou* mai. *You* tseu-ke.
3. *He* &c., an.
1. The do of do ka corresponds with the Anam toi; ka is the archaic guttural form of the Himalaic nga (Thochu ka.)
2. mai is Anam, mai, Mon bai.
3. an is Anam, han.

NUMERALS.

1 lé	6 to
2 é	7 phu
3 oé	8 to
4 phun	9 tim
5 phau	10 keu

11 keu le, 12 keu é and so on to 20 e keu, 21 e keu le &c., 30 oé keu, 40 phun keu &c., 100 upea, 1,000 hu éin, 10,000 hu mun, 100,000 hu tsem.

1. le; Ahom ling &c. The slender form of the Himalaic liquid unit com. in 4.
2. é. Prob. a contraction of the Dravido-Mon labial, comp. be Simang
3. oé. Probably the Dravido-Mon labial, *pehka*, Chong, Mon, pui Mon, wui-p' Simang.
4. phun. Dravido-Mon; phun, pun Kol, buan Kambojan, pon Mon, Chong, bon Anam &c.
5. phau. Prob. the prefix of a Himalaic name; comp. phu-ngu Téngsa &c. But it may be Drav. as in Deoria Chutja mu-a.
6. to. Dhimal, Gurung tu, Milch. tuk, Bodo do, Garo dok, Chong *ka-dong*.
7. phu. Yerukala *vo-gu* Mon *ka-pau*, *ka-bok*; Anam bai, Ka pah (i. e. the Dravido-Mon 2 for 5, 2.)
8. to. The same form of the unit (for 10 i. e. 2 from 10) as in 6.
9. tim. Anam *chim*, *chin*, Ka *chin*, Savara *tin-ji*.
10. keu. Mikir *kep*.
100. u-pea. Chinese *pe*.

MISCELLANEOUS WORDS.

1. *Names of Natural Objects.*

Sun se-gei; s-gei Kasia, tha-ngai, ti-gei &c. Kambojan gr.

Day ka-sha-nei; ngai Anam, Kamb. gr., ta-ngwai Mon.

Fire ngal; a Himalaic, Scythic and Drav. root found in the Gadaba su-ngol *fire*, the S. Drav. ti-ngal *moon* &c. In Himalaic ngai, nga is *sun*, *day* &c.

Moon pa-kien; Chong kang, Kamb. khe, S. Tangkhul a-kha, Gadaba a-ke. The same root is found as *star*; Kambojan pha-kay, pi-kei, Songpu—Singpho; *light* Songpu Maram; *sky* Rakhong.

Star lao; Shan lao.

Earth ke-tai; dei Kambojan, dat Anam, han-deu Kasia, te Mon; Koreng ka-di, Songpu, han-di.

Mountain nau; nui Anam, non Anam, nong Chong &c., non, noi &c., Lau.

Stone mao; maw Kasia; Mru ta-wha, Mon, Kamb. ka-mok, ta-moe &c.

Water em; Kasia, Uraon um, Malé am.

River em nam kio; Shan nam kio.

Sea em pan lae; Shan pang lai, Burm. peng le, Khyeng pan-lei, Toung-thu pin-lai (i. e. *father of water*).

Blood nham; Kasia s-nam; Lau nam *Water, oil*; arch Him. (oil Bhotian num, Lepcha nam, Kol su-num, su-nam.)

2. *Names of Parts of the Body.*

Head kun; Shan ko, Burman khong. (com Him). In the compound for *hair* kun has the slender form kin as in kin *hai*, Deoria Chutia.

Hair shiok kin; (kin=kun *head*); sok Kamb. Mon (Him.)

Eye (a) me-tsi; myet-si Burman.

(b) ngai; ngan Chinese.

Mouth moi; mui A-rung, boar Ka, meng Anam, pak Lau, mat Kamb.

Tooth rang; rang Anam, Taying lan, S. Tangkhul a-la-ra.

Ear hiok; probably a form of the com. liquid root as in Lau hu for ru, Lung-ke hua for rua.

Hand tae; Mon, Anam tai, Kasia k-ti, Kol thi.

Foot jeun [? zheun]; Kambojan chong, Anam chon, Mon chang, Tengsa ching.

Bone kaang ; Kamb. chaang.

Horn nong ; Singpho-Garo lung, rong &c., (com. for *ear* nung, rong &c.)

Skin hué

Names of Family and Social Relations

Man tui ; Anam duk, Khamti *male* thuk, Burman *male* tho &c.

Woman i-pan ; Chinese pan *female*, Siam. ban *wife*. (The p, b, f, root is generally masculine and the m root fem. in the Him. vocabularies, but a few examples of a fem. application of the former occur, e. g. *mother* a-pui Maram gr.)

Husband ta i-pan ; ta *father* Kambojan, dagh *husband* Bhotian &c.

Wife i-pan an ; Siam. ban *wife*.

Child kuan ; Kasia kun.

Son kuan e-mai ; mai is an archaic form of the more prevalent mi, me *man* preserved in the Koreng cha-mai.

Daughter kuan i-pan.

Father kun ; Chinese kung *male*, Siamese khon *man* &c.

Mother ma ; com.

Names of Domestic and of some Wild Animals.

Cat ngiaong ; Kha-khing le ngiaong a-meo ; Lau, Chinese,

Dog tsao ; 'Anam cho.

Hog le ; Mon ka-let, Mijhu leh, Gurung ti-li.

Ow mak ; Manipuri gr. muk.

Buffalo k-ra ; Kambojan k-ra-bo, Ahom kh-rai, Sak k-ro, Anam, k-long-nuk.

Elephant tsang ; Jili, Lau, Chinese.

Horse k-rang ; Singpho kam-rang.

Tiger le-vai (cat le ngiaong) Chong ro-wai, Mon, Kambojan, Kasia k-la.

Monkey la ; Kha-khing la-we, Shan la-lein, Silong k-lak.

Fish ka ; Anam, Mon ka, Manipuri gr. kha.

Snake han, hon ; ? Anam ran.

Bird sim ; Anam, Binua chim, Mon ka-chim, Kasia ka-sim, Gond sim.

Words of Art.

House ka-lep ; Ahom ren, Mijhu b-li &c. (Manipuri gr. *village* ram &c.)

Road dan ; Mon dan, Anam dang, Kasia lan-ti, Lau tang.

Boat ka-le ; com.

Iron lek ; Lau lek.

Salt tset ; Tibeto-Ultr. tsa, tse &c.

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EASTERN ASIA.

THE ANCIENT TRADE OF THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

By T. BRADDELL, Esq.

THE trade of the Indian Archipelago is one of extreme antiquity, reaching backwards as it certainly does to ages long previous to our era. It is proposed here to give a few notices of the several stages through which it has already passed. The history may be divided into five great epochs.

- 1st the Phœnician and Sabœan.
- 2nd the Alexandrian and Sabœan.
- 3rd the Alexandrian direct.
- 4th the Mahomedan.
- 5th the Later European by the Cape.

From the earliest known periods civilization centred in the countries round the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, both of which estuaries formed natural channels of communication between India and the Western world. Without entering into the question as to an older trade, through the Persian Gulf to India, we may consider that carried on through the Red Sea as sufficient for the present purpose. A colony of the great Aramæan race, settled

on the Persian Gulf, had established settlements on the Coast of Syria (Tyre and Sidon) from whence, with the Sabæans, a people of the same origin, and settled at the south western extremity of Arabia, a trade was carried on with India. This trade, of which the chief account is found in Bible history, was even then of great value, providing to the west precious metals, jewels, spices, gums, incense, valuable dyes, scented woods, pungent barks, in short the very articles which form the trade of the Indian Archipelago at the present day.

The Sabæans, from their seat in Yemen, about the locality of the modern Aden, coasted along the south shores of Arabia and Beloochistan and from thence down the West Coast of the Indian Peninsula, to certain emporia, where the produce of India had been collected. After making purchases they returned to the North of the Red Sea, where the Tyrian merchants received the articles, and carrying them overland, distributed them through the Levant.

The records of this trade are very deficient. The writings of the Phœnicians having been lost in the Alexandrian Library leave us only the Bible History to consult; and the information there to be found is of an obscure character, as connected with the eastern portion of the trade. There is no direct testimony that the Archipelago provided any of the articles, at this time taken from India to the westward; but considering that many of the articles mentioned are largely found, and that some of them are indigenous, in these countries, the supposition is strong that the trade did then extend to the Archipelago.*

The course of trade continued in the same channels till the time of Alexander the Great. That prince, generally known rather as a great military genius; had under the instruction of Aristotle developed an extraordinary aptitude for civil affairs. At an early period of his career he had conceived the gigantic scheme of uniting all mankind under one government. He turned his attention to the opening of lines of land and sea communication, and with the intuitive eye of genius, he fixed on places in which

* The present is not a fit opportunity to enter on the much controverted subject of the localities of "Ophir" and "Sheba," but a few suggestive remarks may be permitted, with a view of drawing attention, in order that the question may be hereafter discussed with special reference to the claims of these countries.

In describing the visit of the Queen of Sheba, 1st Kings, chap. X., we read,

to establish cities for the guard and government of all the great routes. He had experienced the power of the Tyrians, against whose barren rock his efforts had been for months expended in vain. He traced this power to the possession of commerce, and he determined himself to assume the command of that commerce. A number of cities were founded on commanding sites, among the rest was Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile, a position most favourable to receive the Indian trade, heretofore conveyed to Tyre.

In the course of a short time all the Indian trade centred in the new emporium, being however still brought up the Red Sea by the Sabœans. Alexander was anxious to obtain the carrying trade from the Sabœans, but his early death interfered to prevent a change which did not take place for four centuries.

When, on the banks of the Hyphasis, the Greek soldiers refused to march further towards the Ganges, the great conqueror, ever alive to the advantages of geographical knowledge, determined to explore the Indus, and to prove the possibility of reaching Egypt by water. Nearchus was despatched on this service; after 21 weeks, he arrived at the mouths of the Euphrates, having communicated with Alexander, who had marched his troops along the Persian coast. As Nearchus was about to continue his voyage,

“that the Queen of the South” came “from the extremities” and in another verse “from the uttermost parts of the earth.” Ophir was 3 years voyage distant. From thence were brought gold, almug trees, precious stones, spices, incense. “Once in three years came the navy of Tarshish bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes, and peacocks” and in 27th of Ezekiel, describing the trade of Tyre, the Prophet says, verse 19, “bright iron, cassia and calamus were in thy market.” In verse 21 the produce of Arabia is given as lambs, rams, and goats, not spices and incense. Sheba and Raamah brought chief of all spices, precious stones and gold. “Tarshish was thy merchant * * * with silver, iron, tin and lead, they traded in thy fairs”. Nearly all of the articles above enumerated were found in the Archipelago at the earliest dates of which we have authentic records; and it is difficult to believe, taking the subsequent course of trade into account, that they were not then carried to the west. At the commencement of our era, Josephus, who had every opportunity of acquiring exact information on such a matter, says: (Book VIII. cap. 6 sect. 4) “that they should go along with his own (Solomon’s) Stewards, to the land which was of old called Ophir, but now, the Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India to fetch him gold.” The Almug trees, brought to Jerusalem, have been identified as the Aguru of the Hindoos, and are found in great luxuriance in Cochin-China. Add to this that Raamah may be identified with Ramni, the ancient name of a port and country on the North Coast of Sumatra, and that a great Hindoo or Indian emporium, named “Zaba,” flourished about the time in question. The locality of Zaba has been fixed at the extremity of the Malayan Peninsula, on or near the mouth of the Johore river, not far from Singapore, or, as is more probable, it is only a variation of the Jaba or Java, by which name all the western portion of the Archipelago, Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Peninsula have been known to Chinese, Indians and Europeans from the earliest periods of history or tradition.

by the Arabian coast, news arrived of the death of Alexander at Babylon, and the project was in consequence abandoned. We may safely say that this death was the greatest misfortune, as a check to the advance of geographical knowledge. Aristotle had already argued on the possibility of circumnavigating Africa, and even of reaching India by the West. With the power and inclinations of his pupil, he would have had every opportunity for forestalling the discoveries of later times. In order to retain the monopoly of the carrying trade the Sabæans took every opportunity of discouraging others from entering into competition. They described the greater part of the commodities brought by them as the produce of their own country; and asserted that the few other articles were procured at great expense, and with small profit. They accounted for the fact of such valuable spices, gums, woods, &c., being found in their barren country by saying that they were produced in fertile valleys in the interior.

On the division of Alexander's Empire, Babylon fell to the lot of Seleucus. That Prince, from his proximity to India, kept up a regular communication with the Emperor of the Prasii, at Palibothra.* Megasthenes was sent to Palibothra as ambassador and it appears to be from his account that Strabo and Pliny wrote. Ceylon, a colony from Palibothra, was correctly described, under the name of Taprobane, by Onesicratus, the friend and companion of Megasthenes. At that time Ceylon bounded the knowledge of the Greek geographers, as we hear of races of pigmies &c., living beyond its boundaries.

The establishment of Alexandria collected merchants from all parts of the world to engage in the lucrative trade there concentrated. The exigencies of this trade soon required an enlarged knowledge of geography; that knowledge was rendered of more easy acquisition, as the records and journals of the Phœnician navigators had been placed there, on the destruction of Tyre, together with the journals of Alexander's officers, made during the Indian expedition. Of these writings, that describing the voyage of Nearchus is the only one extant. Under the enlightened rule of the three first Ptolemys great progress was made in navigation and commerce. In the year 200 B. C. Eratosthenes, the President of the Library, introduced a new and regular sys-

* Reyuell says this is the modern Patna.

tem of marking down places on Maps. He mentions China or Thincé. Agatharchides, 20 years later, described the Sabœans, and noticed the enormous wealth accruing to them from the possession of the Indian trade. The course of trade had continued as before. The Sabœans found articles collected for them in depots on the Malabar coast; from whence they were brought over to their own port in Yemen, at the mouth of the Red Sea, in vessels coasting along the Indian, Persian, and Arabian shores. Now however the Alexandrians sailed down to Yemen, where they purchased Indian articles of trade. The commodities were carried by themselves up to Berenice, a town built by Ptolemy; thence, across the desert, to Coptus, on the Nile, and thence to Alexandria, a distance of about 300 miles.* This was the first blow to the Sabœans, consequent on the establishment of Alexandria; to be followed, very soon, by the total destruction of their trade.

Eudoxus of Cyzicus, an enthusiastic Geographer, visited Egypt for the purpose of exploring the Nile valley. While thus engaged an Indian was drifted, in a boat, from the Malabar Coast to the Red Sea. Arguing on this fact Eudoxus conceived the project of navigating direct to India; instead of, as hitherto, following the coast line, a part of which was subject to the rival Sabœans; and was thus hostile to the Alexandrians. In the year 50 B. C. Alexandria was occupied by the Romans, who, however, allowed the Greek Merchants still to trade. Two voyages were accomplished, as suggested by Eudoxus, but no practical result followed till the year 50 A. D. when Hippalus, finding the winds blowing steadily for a length of time in one direction, undertook the task of sailing direct to India. He was successful, having arrived in 40 days on the Malabar Coast. From that date the Alexandrians enjoyed the whole of the Indian trade; altogether passing the Sabœan port, which, in consequence, rapidly decayed.

This discovery† ends the second epoch. The direct communi-

* A canal was attempted by the second Ptolemy between Berenice and Coptus. This route was chosen as shortening a portion of the difficult navigation of the Red Sea; but afterwards the Romans altered the route to Suez, as at present used by the Modern overland traffic.

† Exception has been taken to the application of this term "discovery" to what at first sight would seem to have been *obvious*, but it appears to be applicable, viewing the word as applied to the knowledge, acquirable only by actual experiment, that the steady wind existed at a distance from the shore. The severe

cation thus opened by the Alexandrians to India soon produced more correct information. Arrian, a Merchant of Alexandria, made several trading voyages to India. The Malabar Coast, however, was still the limit of his knowledge; he mentions the pearl fishery of Ceylon, in the Gulf of Manaar, opposite Ramanaeor; also an island, beyond the Chersonese, where the finest tortoiseshell is obtained, obviously the Celebes, from whence, till this day, large exports are yearly made of that article. Of the Coromandel Coast his information was defective, and evidently derived only from hearsay: he knew of the Kristna and Cauvery Rivers, but peopled the country to the north of the former with Hippiprosopoi and Macrocephali.

The most interesting part of Arrian's account for the present purpose, is that relating to the Hindoo, or home, trade of the Indians. He mentions 5 kinds of vessels engaged in this trade. Madratœ, sewn boats, (Massoulah boats of Madras); Trappagœ and Kotymbœ, long fishing boats and pilot boats at the mouths of rivers; Sangarœ, sea-boats, like double banked canoes, (perhaps Malay prahus); and Kolandiophontœ or Bantings, ships of great size, which, as well as the Sangorœ, were employed in the Chersonese trade. These vessels rendezvoused at Taprobane, and thence sailed up to the mouth of the Kristna river, whence they took their final departure for the Chersonese. He also mentions a great inland city, named Thince, from whence silk was conveyed overland to Baroche.

Arrian notes cargoes of pepper, tortoiseshell, silk, incense and precious stones, as forming part of the Chersonese trade. Nutmegs and cloves are not named, though the former must have been known as Plautus describes the mace. Pliny, writing about 75 A. D., says, that cinnamon grows among the Troglodytes in Æthiopia; that the Æthiopians purchase it from their neighbours, and carry it in vessels through the sea; that they start in winter, when the east wind (Eurus) blows, and go to Ocelœ (Gellœ in the Straits of Babelmandel), and that they occupy 5 years in the voyage. This would appear to apply clearly to the Indian Archipelago, as it is impossible to suppose

storms which attend the change of monsoon winds would render necessary a considerable degree of skill and enterprise to overcome the difficulty of an immediate return to any one adventuring out to sea at that period: the period in which otherwise the trial might more readily be made.

that a voyage to the *Regio Cinnamonifera*, on the N. E. coast of Africa, or to Ceylon, supposing cinnamon to have been there produced at that time, could have occupied five years.

The next account is that of Ptolemy, the most celebrated of the minor Greek geographers. He was born in the year A. D. 70, at Damietta, on the East branch of the Nile. At an early period he went to Alexandria, at that time the great centre of attraction. The principal portion of Ptolemy's geographical knowledge was acquired from conversing with the travellers, from all the parts of the known world, then to be found at Alexandria. This is the only way to account for the remarkable error he makes in computing the distance from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Ganges as if a straight line, instead of round the apex of the triangle formed by the Peninsula of India. Megasthenes first gave a correct map, shewing the direction of the Peninsula. He was followed by Eratosthenes Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Pliny, all of whom had previously written. This error is the more extraordinary as Ptolemy did more to improve geography, by the introduction of science, than any of his predecessors. Assuming the earth to be spherical he divided it into 2 series of circles, at regular intervals, now known as circles of latitude and longitude, and commenced to lay down the situation of places by rule. The amount of the then knowledge was not sufficient to save him from many and great mistakes; the one most important, in the present enquiry, is, that he joined the extremity of the Malayan with that of the African peninsula: evidently, as in the case of the Indian peninsula, from a misconception of the information obtained from travellers.*

Ptolemy must have been acquainted with the trade and people of China, if not with the country; as, previous to his time, there are many notices of that people. 200 B. C. Eratosthenes had heard of overland travellers who brought goods from thence, chiefly silk. Arrian describes the inhabitants, and mentions a

* Many discussions have arisen, to fix present localities to names of places given in Ptolemy's map of the Cheronese. The Port of Cattigara, 8° or 10° South latitude, has been assigned to Canton by some; and, by others, to Mergui: Thinae in like manner, by some, to the Tenasserim coast, and by others to Siam. In the map attached to Dr. Robertson's "Historical Disquisitions," Thinae is marked on the west coast of Cambodia, nearly opposite "Pulo Way"; and "Cattigara" as inland on the Cambodia River, near the site of the present town of Cambodia. There is however ample room for further examination, assisted by the light of recent discovery.

fair, from which goods were taken, overland, to Baroche. In 94 A. D. an Emperor of the western Han Dynasty gave one of his officers a commission to open a communication with Rome, conferring on that Empire the title "Ta Tsin," great Empire. This officer proceeded on his route, overland, and reached the Caspian. From the borders of that sea he returned, having been terrified by the length and dangers of the voyage across. In the year 166 A. D. Marcus Aurelius sent Ambassadors to China. Shortly before that period he had denied his Empress the luxury of a silk dress.

There is every reason to believe that, long before this time, an active communication had existed, as at present, between the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago and the Chinese, on the East, and the Klings, or natives of the Coromandel Coast, on the West. The accounts of this traffic are deficient unless assisted by the recent labours of Oriental scholars. The Greek geographers and traders, from whom our early knowledge of India is derived, had no direct interest to the eastward of Ceylon. Their direct trade did not extend beyond that Island, and they were therefore dependent on imperfect native accounts for the little information they did collect concerning the Eastern Seas. It appears however to be well established that Christianity had progressed, in the first and second centuries, as far as India and China. The *Syrian Chronicles* relate that the Apostle Thomas, having gone through Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Persia, and Parthia, went to the utmost confines of the East. He is elsewhere styled the Apostle of the Hindoos and Chinese. The Malabar Christians, according to Antonius Govea, relate that, having arrived at Cranganore (near Cochin on the Malabar Coast), St. Thomas continued for sometime with the King of Malabar; after founding Churches, he went on to Culan, (? Ceylon) where he converted many. Thence he proceeded to Coromandel, and converted the King with all the people of Meliapore.* The Saint then went to China, and preached the gospel in Cambola (? Camboja). The Indian Christians long continued to send bishops to China; (? Camboja and Cochin China) so there must then have been an active intercourse between India and those countries.†

* The Maliarpha of Robertson's map, north of Madras, of which town it may be considered a suburb.

† See Yentes' "Relation of the first Christian mission in China."

After Ptolemy there is a long gap in the western writers on Indian geography till the date of 600 A. D., when an Egyptian Monk, Cosmos, surnamed the Indian voyager (*Indicopleustes*) was seized with a desire to travel, in order to obtain data from which to prove the incorrectness of the infamous doctrine that the earth was spherical, and to demonstrate that it was in reality a parallelogram, surrounded by a great wall, on which the firmament rested. Cosmos says the Romans traded beyond Malabar and Ceylon, with the *Sinitæ*, a people who lived as far beyond Ceylon as Ceylon is distant from Egypt. This period opens the fourth or Mahomedan epoch.

Mahomedanism infused a new spirit into the Arabian races. They had hitherto, with the exception of the inhabitants of a few sea coast trading towns, been a homely nomadic race, but now, incited primarily by religious zeal, they commenced a propagandist war against mankind, which rapidly led them as conquerors, over the civilized world. Among their first conquests was Egypt, and in its principal city they found a scene of commercial wealth and luxury, to which they were as yet strangers. The Greek and Roman merchants were expelled from Alexandria and the conquest of Persia by the second Khalif Omar, soon after giving the Mahomedans the command of the Persian Gulf, they were thus enabled to monopolize the Indian trade. The products of that trade they dealt out to Europe from Alexandria, and to Western Asia from Bussora, a town founded by them for the purpose, at the head of the Persian Gulf. The great increase of their own power provided a market for nearly all the commodities brought from India, and in consequence they were not solicitous of supplying Christian nations. This feeling afterwards was increased by religious animosity to such a degree as to put a stop to all communication between the professors of the rival religions.

The Christians had so long enjoyed the luxuries, wealth, and refinements of the Indian trade, that its continuance had become necessary to their happiness, and accordingly great efforts were made to regain a portion of the traffic. The possession of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf gave the Mahomedans a monopoly of the available sea passages. Their rivals were therefore obliged to turn their attention to land carriage. The great Caravan trade

was in consequence opened. By this route silks from China, with the spices and precious stones and other commodities of India, were conveyed overland on a line to the north of the Mahomedan conquests. The silks of China were carried from the Western Provinces of that empire, across central Asia, to the banks of the Oxus, where, being joined by the light and valuable products of India, they were conveyed on boats, to the Caspian—after a dangerous voyage across that sea, again, by land, to the river Phasis, and thence to the Black Sea, and Constantinople. This trade centered in Constantinople, and the wealth and power which accompanied it most probably enabled the illustrious city to resist the attacks of the Ottomans, till the Byzantine Empire was almost comprised in the space covered by the city itself.

The Mahomedan period is the first in which we have direct historical information on the trade of the Archipelago, with the exception of the narrative of Fa Hian, a Buddhist monk of China, from which we find that the Chinese vessels traded to the Bay of Bengal and Ceylon, in the fifth century. In the annals of Java there is also said to be a notice of Chinese trade with that island also in the 5th century. In the year 710 A. D., Walid, the 11th Khalif, sent ambassadors overland to China, and about 860 A.D., two Arabian travellers, Wahab and Abuzeid, furnished some interesting remarks on the habits and customs of the Chinese. They describe the fiscal regulations then in force. It appears that salt and tea (sha) were monopolized and farmed out by the Emperor; that Christians, Jews, Mahomedans and Parsees were very numerous in several trading districts; that paper money was in common use; that in the year 877 A. D., at Canfu, a port on the Tse Kiang,* 120,000 of the foreigners were put to death, on the occasion of the city being sacked by a rebel chief; that at the time there were so many Mahomedans in Canfu and their influence was so great that the Emperor permitted them to have a Khali (Mahomedan Judge) to administer their own laws. Christianity was also encouraged, as we learn from the Syrian Chronicles it was at an earlier period. Numerous Churches with their establishments of Bishops, Priests, &c. were maintained. Between 650 and 684 A. D., under Kao Kum, Christianity was promulgated over the 10

* This Port afterwards fell into decay from the filling up of the harbour by silting.

Provinces of China, under the auspices of that Emperor. On an inscription found in the year 1625 A. D., in the chief town of Shen Si, an account of the mission, which entered China A. D. 636, is given. From that account we learn that the mission included a Patriarch, two Bishops, forty-five Priests and fifty-three Deacons or Neophytes. It is highly probable that trade accompanied, if it did not precede, these missionary efforts. Wahab and Abuzied also obtained information concerning the Andaman Islands, whose savage population they describe; as well as Lameri and Ramni on the North Coast of Sumatra, and Al Jawa, which produced valuable spices and was subject to volcanic eruptions. Ceylon is also fully described by them, together with the Laccadives, which they say abounded with cocoanuts. The people of Oman went over to those isles, with their tools, cut down trees, which they dried, stripped, and cleaned, from the bark they made ropes, with which they sewed together the planks of their boats. After building the boat they made sails and ropes from the same tree; and, finally, loading their boats with cocoanuts, sailed homeward.

Eldrissi visited the Archipelago. In 1153 A. D., at the Court of Roger I. of Sicily, he wrote an account of his travels, styled, "The going abroad of a man curious to see the wonders of the whole world." He visited Saborma, (Sumatra) and the isle of Malai (Malay Peninsula).

The year 1204 A. D. commences the most interesting era in the later history of the Malayan race. On the North Coast of Sumatra one of the Mahomedan trading Propagandists succeeded in converting the King of the country to Mahomedanism, a conversion followed by that of the whole race in a surprisingly short space of time, and which had the effect of altering, in a great degree, the literature, manners, customs and government of the several countries and of obliterating in most of them nearly all record of their previous condition, the religious zeal of the Arabs inducing them to consign to oblivion all previous recollections which they thought might interfere with the thorough acceptance of the Mahomedan faith.

The next traveller to be noticed is the "illustrious Senor Polo" of whom a short account may be given. The city of Venice

enjoyed a pre-eminence for wealth and luxury, the birth of her connection with the Indian trade. Her Princes were merchants; and mercantile enterprize was the surest road to power. In 1254 two merchants Maffio and Nicholas Polo set out to visit the Courts of the Tartar Monarchs in Central Asia, at that time well known, as being on the route of the Caravan trade. They first visited Barca at Serai, on the Volga, where they were well received; and, after trading in jewels &c., prepared to return home; but, being turned aside from the direct road, on account of a war, they proceeded eastward to Bokhara; whence, on the invitation of a Tartar noble, they determined to visit China, at that time governed by Kublai Khan. They were received by this monarch with great favour, and, on their return home, were employed conjointly with a Tartar Noble in a mission to the Pope. This mission they fulfilled faithfully, and arrived at home in 1269, after an absence of 15 years. Nicholas found that shortly after his departure his wife had died, in giving birth to a son, who was named Marco, and who was now a promising youth, nearly 15 years of age. After remaining at home for two years the brothers determined to set out again, taking with them the young Marco. Provided with letters from Pope Gregory the 10th, they arrived again at the Court of Kublai, who at once took Marco under his protection, and, from the talent and assiduity displayed by the youth, he obtained such a degree of influence, that, after having acquired a knowledge of the four principal languages spoken in the country, he was appointed Governor of an important city.

After a residence of 17 years, during which time they were high in favour, the three Poli desired to return home. Their wish was strongly opposed by the Khan; however fortune favoured them as, at that time, an embassy had arrived from the King of Persia, a nephew of Kublai, soliciting the hand of one of the Imperial daughters in marriage. A princess was chosen and she departed, intending to journey overland, but the difficulties encountered were so insurmountable that the party was obliged to return. Marco Polo had been in the Malayan Seas, where he had become acquainted with the course of trade to the westward. He now proposed to the Emperor to send the Princess by sea; undertaking, with his father and uncle, to escort her to Ormuz;

whence the remainder of the journey could be easily made. Kublai was fain to agree to the proposition, and, with a fleet of 14 large vessels, the party commenced their voyage. After 18 months, during which time they passed, through the Archipelago, to the Indian coast, and thence, up to the Persian Gulf, the fleet arrived at Ormuz; where the Polo separated, and, proceeding homeward, they arrived at Venice in 1295. The account, published by Marco, of his travels, and of the wonderful scenes he had beheld, procured for him the title of "Marco Millione," but the ready jeers of his contemporaries only prove the ignorance of that age. Each subsequent discovery tends to prove the correctness of Polo's descriptions and his adherence to truth.

At this time it is evident that the trade of the Archipelago to China, and to India and Arabia, was well developed. The richest spices, nutmegs, cloves, pepper, galanga, Brazil wood, ebony, tortoiseshell, bark, resins, camphor &c., gold and precious stones, were carried westward, by the Chinese and Indian traders, from the Archipelago to the Malabar coast, where they were received in exchange by the Arabs, who appear then to have chiefly confined their voyages to that coast. "The mariners of Amoy and Hongchewfo who visited these Islands gained great profit. They spent one year in their voyage. The merchants of Manji and Zaitun come to the largest island in the world (Borneo) and carry on a great and profitable trade there."—Marco Polo.

Oderic of Portenau visited Symolora, Simoltra or Sumatra. He says the people mark their faces with hot irons. He afterwards went on to Java, which country was governed by a very powerful King, and produced nutmegs, cloves and other spices, as well as cassans, (canes) with stones in the joints. Fish also is said to have been exceedingly abundant. We must recollect that these travellers visited only the trading emporia, and are likely to have mistaken the places of production; thus these spices most likely were brought from the Moluccas, by the Bugis traders, to ports in the Sunda Straits or Sumatra, and from thence were taken on by the Arab and Indian traders.

In 1332 Sir John Mandeville commenced his travels in the East, where he remained 34 years. His account is a wonderful

melange of truth, and the wildest fiction. The probability is that he himself never proceeded beyond Asia Minor, where he would have seen enough of the stereotyped manners and customs of Asiatics to enable him to write the truthful portions of his works, and at the same time to have opened his mind for the reception of the many novelties of strange countries. He appears to have derived his information about the countries to the eastward from other travellers.* He informs us that India is 50 days journey beyond Pekin, and that he saw Prestor John surrounded on his throne by 12 Archbishops, and 220 Bishops. These defects throw suspicion on his account of the Archipelago.

Ibn Batutu of Tangiers, a very intelligent traveller, visited Sumatra in the year 1346. He says the King of "Samonthra," a zealous Mahomedan, received him affectionately and after a stay of 15 days at his port, on the North West Coast, he departed in a junk for China. In 21 days he reached Kakoolah in Java, and thence a place named Thawallissé; the passage was made through a calm sea of reddish colour, without wind, wave, or motion, the junks being towed by boats. On his arrival at Thawalissé, the daughter of the king who governed the Province of Kailuku sent for him, welcomed him in polite Turkish and wrote in his presence the "Bismillah" in Arabic characters. This place he describes as about 7 days sail to the South of China, and as independent of that empire. Its inhabitants were of copper colour, strong, brave, and like the Turks. Leaving Thawalissé Ibn Batutu went on to China, part of which country he describes fully, particularly the wealth and extensive transactions of the Mahomedan merchants; who, he says, carry on a trade all over the earth from China to the Atlantic Ocean. He also notices a scarcity of spices and a great circulation of bank notes.†

* In reading some of his narrations, one is involuntarily reminded of the vulgar story of Pharaoh's Chariot wheels and the "sea of sand." Sir John adds a "river of rocks" flowing into it and that the sea of sand abounds with excellent fish.

† Materials for a correct history of the rise and progress of the trade between the Archipelago and China may probably be obtained from China, but of the trade to the west, from the expulsion of the Romans from Alexandria down to the opening of the Cape passage, information may be had from the numerous journals and narratives of the earlier Arabian voyages. Many of these have already been translated into the modern European languages and an active search is still going on. Doubtless in the old Spanish and Italian libraries, there are many works of inestimable value, written before the decline of Mahomedan literature and now lost in the dust and rubbish of neglect; these works if given to the world would

From the complete exclusion of western Europeans during the whole period of Mahomedan sway in the East, the knowledge of these countries gradually declined, and on the discovery of the Cape passage the Portuguese found themselves almost as much strangers in India as the first Spaniards did in America.

From the information derivable it may be considered as established that the Archipelago trade was of very early origin ; that it was carried on by the various nations of the Eastwards' collecting their commodities in certain neighbouring ports whence they were conveyed to the Westward ; that at ports in the Peninsula, in the Straits of Sunda, and on the North West Coast of Sumatra, the Indian trader purchased, carrying the articles to the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts, where they were received by the Sabeen and Alexandrian merchants for European distribution, and that in the course of improvement in navigation western nations began to frequent these seas and in consequence induced an alteration in the trade by visiting the ports of production.

The discovery of the Cape passage introduced such a complete change and was attended with so many and such momentous consequences to the civilized world that a short retrospect may be permitted previous to commencing the final or 5th epoch of our subject.

The modern European trade with India and China took its rise on the almost total exclusion of Christian nations from Egypt and Persia, consequent on the religious hatred and animosity of the Mahomedans. To supply the deficiency the "Caravan trade" was opened, but the enormous expence and risk attending the conveyance of even the least bulky articles, by this route, was a serious drawback to extension. Some of the Italian cities opened a trade with Constantinople in the 11th and 12th centuries, and were even enabled to have a slight commerce with the Egyptian and Syrian Ports. Venice was particularly distinguished in this traffic, and, from the year 1204, when Constantinople was taken by the Latins, that Republic had free access to its well stored marts. The Genoese, who had also acquired wealth and conse-

illustrate the history of the commerce, government, literature and productions of all the countries visited by the earlier Arabian travellers, and a hope may be here expressed that in future research the claims to antiquity and former greatness of this Archipelago, will not be neglected or sacrificed to countries better known but of really less importance.

quence from a similar intercourse, were jealous of the predominance which Venetian influence gave that people in Constantinople. They now intrigued with the Greeks, and, by their assistance, Constantinople was freed, after 57 years, from the Latin dominion. Gratitude for this assistance induced the Greeks to favour their deliverers, and, in consequence, Genoa began to occupy the place hitherto maintained by Venice. Had the government of that republic been steady and prudent as it was energetic it must have continued to preserve a monopoly. The people of Florence also turned their attention to the trade, and by enterprise and perseverance they soon acquired a respectable share of wealth and grandeur. The intercommunication and civilizing effects which attended the Crusades introduced some of the Northern nations to scenes of wealth and magnificence which induced them to desire a share in such benefits. A confederation of German cities was formed in 1241, under the name of the "Hanseatic League" and an active trade commenced in exchanging the naval stores, gold, silver and other produce of Germany, for Indian and Levant articles. This trade centred in Bruges, which city also soon became remarkable for the wealth and luxury accompanying the formation of a depot of the Indian trade. The Venetians however enjoyed advantages, in conducting their traffic, unknown to their rivals. After the delivery of Constantinople from the Latins had given the Genoese a preponderance in that Empire, the Venetians opened a direct communication with the Mahomedans at Alexandria. They were enabled to supply to the Mahomedans many luxuries and necessaries in exchange for Indian articles, an advantage which was not possessed by their rivals, who were obliged to pay in specie. The Venetians were therefore favourably received, and their trade increased.

The general state of Europe prevented other nations from competing with the Italian states for a share of the wonderful advantages of this trade. England had not recovered from the exhaustion consequent on the civil wars; France was engaged in recovering its provinces from English rule; Spain was in a similar position with the Moors, and Portugal was not yet in a condition to turn its attention to such distant enterprises; consequently, for a long period, Venice, Genoa and Bruges enjoyed a large share of

prosperity, and became prominent for a degree of wealth, magnificence and luxury which excited the enquiry of all Europe to discover the reason and origin of a power hitherto unknown. The wealth of these cities was quickly traced to their connection with the Indian trade, and now other states desired to embark in such a profitable occupation.

The knowledge of geography and navigation had made slow progress in Europe during the middle and darker ages. A century before this time the Northern Coast of Africa bounded the Map of the world leaving all to the south and west of that line a vast blank. The Portuguese in 1411 crossed the Straits against the Moors and conquered Ceuta in Africa. Under the enterprising leadership of Don Henry, the gallant son of John I, expeditions were undertaken down the African Coast. Madeira and the Azores were added to Portugal, while 30 years afterwards they had reached to the Gold Coast and to Congo. Columbus, after an attentive and long study of the subject, was now prepared to venture on a passage to India by the westward. Founding his arguments on the sphericity of the earth, he had satisfied himself that by persevering in a westerly course India must in time be reached, and in this opinion he was strengthened by Ptolemy's blunder in extending the longitude of India so far to the eastward. He offered his services to Portugal and Genoa but was rejected by both. He then appealed to Spain, at that time under the government of Ferdinand and Isabella. These enlightened princes, after uniting their kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, were engaged in a final effort to expel the Moors from Grenada, their last holding place in Christendom. They had beheld with concern the increasing importance which Portugal was acquiring by extensive maritime explorations and now eagerly accepted the offer of Columbus. A small expedition was prepared in 1492, and, in the following year, Columbus returned with information that he had discovered a new land, which, however, from its proximity, could not be India. In order to prevent any disputes as to the respective discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese, an application was made to the Pope, Alexander the VI, and he arranged on a separating line which extended from pole to pole, at first 100 but afterwards 370 leagues to the west of the Azores. The Pope

declared that all discoveries to the East or African side of this line should belong to Portugal and to the west or American side to Spain. The Portuguese continued their advances down the African Coast, being encouraged to persevere by the discovery of the fact that, contrary to expectation, the coast trended to the eastward; the Spaniards, on the other hand, confined themselves to America. In the year 1498 the passage round the Cape was discovered and on the 22nd May of that year, after a voyage of 10 months and nine days, Vasco De Gama landed at Calicut, a trading port on the Malabar Coast. In the following year De Gama returned to Portugal carrying a cargo of Indian products. The fame of this discovery roused all Europe. The well known value of the Indian trade induced all to wish for participation, and the recent discovery of America was considered of almost secondary importance. The Pope on application readily confirmed the Portuguese in the exclusive possession of the Indian seas, as being to the eastward of the line before laid down, and under the politic management of Immanuel, the Portuguese, by rigidly excluding other Europeans, gained a complete ascendancy to the eastward. Alphonse Albuquerque, the intrepid and sagacious minister, admirably carried out the policy laid down for him; fortified factories were established in every valuable situation from the Red Sea to New Guinea on the east and along the African shore on the west. The Arabs and other foreign traders were expelled and complete exclusion of all other nations effected. The Persian Gulf and Red Sea, hitherto the channels to Europe and to Western Asia, were blockaded, the trade being nearly annihilated. The former was commanded by the establishment of Ormuz, a place which rapidly advanced to wealth and magnificence under the Portuguese. From Ormuz the trade of the Persian Gulf was controlled and the whole supply of the Persian Empire acquired. In the Red Sea Albuquerque was not so successful although his presence cramped the Arab trade. In order to drive the Portuguese from the Red Sea, the Venetians induced their Arab allies to apply to the Pope to interfere. The application, though accompanied by a threat to kill all the Christians in the Khalifat and to destroy all their Churches, was ineffectual. As a last resort a fleet was dispatched. It was met by the Portuguese and after several

engagements, was completely destroyed. Soon after the Turks took Egypt and Syria, and the Venetians entered into terms with them to retain the trade, now dwindled to a supply for their own immediate neighbourhood. Europe was already supplied by the Cape passage, on cheaper terms by the Portuguese, who reigned supreme in India. The attempt to discover a passage by the West to India was not abandoned. The enormous wealth yearly brought to Europe by the Portuguese added fresh strength to the universal desire to participate in that commerce. The Pope's grant had hitherto given the Portuguese an exclusive title to use the passage by the Cape of Good Hope; a right which they retained till the discovery of the western passage. Ferdinand Maghellan, an officer in the Portuguese service, had visited the Moluccas. He conceived that if those islands could be approached by the west they would be beyond the line which had been arranged as the Portuguese boundary, and that any other nation arriving there by a western route would be entitled to possession. Being disgusted in an attempt to obtain advancement from the Portuguese, he transferred his services to the Spaniards. On his representation, the Council of Spain fitted out an expedition, which they placed under his command. Sailing for South America, Maghellan coasted along the Eastern shores of that continent, looking for a passage westward, till he arrived at the straits bearing his name. He sailed through here, and still steering westward, arrived in due course, at the islands afterwards called "Philipines". Maghellan was killed at one of these islands and the vessel returned home, under the command of Sabastian Cabot, who was thus the first circumnavigator. The result of this voyage brought the Spaniards into instant collision with the Portuguese, who represented that the Islands of India were within their limits. This the Spaniards denied, stating that the Pope's authority permitted the Portuguese to occupy the places reached by the Cape of Good Hope only, whereas these islands had been reached from the westward so that they did not encroach on the Portuguese rights. However, after one or two futile attempts to form a Settlement in opposition to the Portuguese, the difference was settled, against the advice of the Council of Spain, by Charles V, then Emperor and King of Spain, who sold his present rights for 350,000 ducats to the Portu-

guese, without at the same time resigning his future title. Under this agreement Spain was debarred till the succeeding reign, when Philip II took possession of Maghellan's islands and named them "the Philipines." The Portuguese power in India had now reached its zenith ;—possessed of every trading situation from the Red Sea to New Guinea, their power and wealth were un bounded, but they had estranged the feelings of the natives by a succession of the most tyrannical and exterminating acts. The heroic enthusiasm and enterprise which guided the early navigators in their exploration of unknown seas soon degenerated. The possession of every object of ambition or desire, brought in natural course a laxity and self indulgence, which resulted in weakness, cowardice, and universal demoralization. The crisis of their fate soon arrived. When the untimely death of Sebastian placed Portugal under the Spanish crown, that kingdom, with its foreign possessions, was involved in the wars carried on by Philip II ; and, in consequence, India was exposed to invasion from other European nations. On the arrival of their first European enemies the Portuguese found themselves unable to uphold their predominance. With discord among their chiefs disputing for supreme authority, insubordination among their troops, with cowardice, debauchery and avarice among all classes, they rapidly declined before the fierce attacks of new enemies. Retribution fell on them for their treatment of the natives, who, in every case, leagued themselves with the new Europeans to expel their former dreaded masters.

When Portugal was thus united to Spain in 1580, the Spaniards at once commenced to trade direct to India, giving to their Flemish subjects, some of whom already had a traffic with the Italian cities, the monopoly of the supply of Northern Europe. On this trade Bruges and Antwerp became so wealthy and luxurious as to excite in Royalty feelings of astonishment and envy at the splendour of its Burgesses. Their wealth rendered the cities contumacious, and the council of Spain, in order to reduce them to obedience, stopped their permission to trade, and fettered them in religious matters. Some of the Flemish burghers retired in consequence to the seven Northern Free Provinces, and there tried to carry on their lucrative trade as before ; but the Spanish Ports were closed against them, leaving no source of supply. Having

enjoyed the advantages of the trade so long, the Burghers determined to open a direct intercourse with India, in defiance of Spain and Portugal, whose exclusive rights were held only on the sanction of the Pope's will, an authority then on the decline in Europe. After some unsuccessful attempts on the part of the Dutch government to force a passage by the North west, the enterprize was left in the hands of private individuals, who soon sent out a number of expeditions, some by the Cape of Good Hope, and some by Cape Horn. The Spaniards and Portuguese thus found themselves pressed by rivals on both sides. We must here revert to the commencement of the 16th century to follow out the history and course of each European nation in India, more fully than has been attempted in the preceding sketch.

On the 22nd day of May, in the year 1498, Vasco de Gama cast anchor in the roads of Calicut, at that time a place of some importance, as a trading depot, and as the chief town of one of the numerous petty Hindoo Principalities in the South of India. The Portuguese were received in the most friendly manner by the Hindoo chief; but their arrival was looked on as a serious evil by the Arabs who were then in undisputed possession of the trade to the Westward. The ignorance and want of discrimination of the early Europeans in not noticing the distinction between the Arabs and the other dark races, met with in these countries, has given rise to great confusion and misconception. The Arabs in the Indian seas at the present day are a miserable race, little, if at all, superior to many classes of the natives of the country; but, in the 14th and 15th centuries, they were more able, in all respects, physically and morally, to cope with the nations of Western Europe. They were then engaged in propagating their religion throughout the South of India, and the farther Archipelago, as they had already done in Northern India, and the nearer Archipelago. The Mahomedan dynasty of the Khilijies had been established at Delhi at the end of the 13th century. They overran the Deccan but the Imperial Lieutenants sent to govern distant acquisitions, soon declared themselves independent. The Bahmuny dynasty usurped sovereign power in the Deccan, and carried on constant warfare with the neighbouring Hindoo chiefs, who had risen to power on the ruins of the former kingdoms. Of these the empire

of Bijnuggar was the most considerable, extending from sea to sea, and including Ceylon. Calicut was under the government of Bijnuggar, and therefore was politically hostile to the Mahomedans, but was perhaps favourable to traders, without respect to religion, from the great benefits derivable from their traffic. It appears that the Hindoos gladly welcomed the Portuguese, and were desirous of securing their aid against the encroachment of the Northern Mahomedans, and there can be little hesitation in ascribing the opposition, afterwards met with by the Portuguese, to their own misconduct. The Arabs then, were in possession of the trade, but had no advantages over their rivals, except what their own judgment and moderation secured. It would form a curious subject for speculation as to the result, had the Arabs, on the first appearance of the Portuguese, been allied with Mahomedan Princes on the Malabar Coast and not opposed, as they were, to the suspicion and religious hostility of Hindoos.

On the arrival of Gama the Arabs formed a combination to ruin him in the estimation of the native Prince. Money was was collected to bribe the ministers. It was insinuated that the strangers were pirates, who had escaped the justice of their own country; and were coming to these seas to plunder the inhabitants, as they already had done on the Coasts of Africa. Differences soon arose, under which the Portuguese acted without discretion. Two of their officers were seized on shore. In retaliation six natives of consideration were detained on board the ship. A boat came off at once with the officers, but Gama detained the native hostages; and, after securing a most valuable cargo, took them to Portugal to give them an opportunity of witnessing the grandeur of that Kingdom.

This proceeding was attended with many evil consequences, as it gave the Arabs a ground of advantage, which they were not slow to use, for the purpose of vilifying their rivals.

The great dream of ages was realized. Gama arrived safely in the Tagus with a cargo of oriental articles which hitherto, in Europe, had been obtainable only at enormous cost through the traders of Egypt. The prodigious quantities of those commodities, procured by him at an almost nominal cost, excited the surprise of his countrymen; and were sold at prices which, though

under the previous ruling rates, left an almost fabulous amount of profit.

Another expedition consisting of thirteen ships was dispatched under the command of Cabral. After discovering the Coast of Brazil, and losing four of his ships in a terrific storm off the Cape of Good Hope, he arrived at Calicut. The hostages taken to Portugal by Gama were sent on shore and their deliverers met with a friendly reception. The Arabs however soon commenced to intrigue, and involved the Portuguese in violent measures of opposition to the constituted authority. Open warfare resulted. An Arab vessel was seized. The Portuguese warehouse on shore was attacked, and its defenders put to the sword. By superior management the Arabs enlisted the Native Prince on their side. The Portuguese at last, after seizing all the ships in the harbour, and appropriating their valuable cargoes, anchored close in shore, cannonaded the Town, and then sailed to the neighbouring Port of Cochin, at that time an unwilling tributary of Calicut. A treaty was made with the chief of Cochin who was thus released from vassalage. The next squadron from Portugal was placed under the command of Gama. His first act, on arriving at Calicut, was to cannonade the Town, because reparation was refused for the *insult* offered to Cabral. Several other fleets were sent in succession and before long the Portuguese, by their piratical behaviour, became the dread of all parties on the coast. An opportunity was afforded of proving their courage, hitherto not much taxed. Pachecho was left with a few men to garrison the factory at Cochin. After the fleet sailed a general combination was formed, under the lead of the chief of Calicut, for the double purpose of punishing his revolted vassal, and of exterminating the Portuguese. Attack after attack was made by their whole forces on the petty Portuguese garrison; but that people, by their heroic gallantry, defied every effort, and established a reputation for their countrymen, which materially facilitated their future progress; without however relieving them from the hatred and dread of the Indians.

In the year 1505 Francisco d'Almeida arrived with the title of "Viceroy of India." He found the Hindoo Princes engaged, as before, in defending themselves from Mahomedan aggression from

the North. The Emperor of Bijnaggar sent an embassy to d'Almeida, requesting his alliance and offering to prove his sincerity by giving his daughter in marriage to the son of the King of Portugal. This opening was not improved; and the Portuguese had soon cause to regret their want of judgment in neglecting to avail themselves of friendly alliances. The Arab traders found themselves driven from the markets by the oppression and freebooting conduct of the Portuguese, and, in consequence, made urgent requisition for redress to their Soldan; in which the Venetians joined, as participating in the loss. A number of vessels were built, with the assistance of the Venetians, and sailed down the Red Sea to the Malabar Coast, where, being joined by the Native fleets, a desperate engagement took place. The Portuguese were worsted, leaving the victors, however, in such a shattered state, as to prevent the possibility of following up their advantage. The success was only momentary, d'Almeida refitted, and, collecting his whole force, proceeded to Diu, where he completely destroyed the enemy's fleet, only a few small vessels escaping up the river. Dabul, a populous town on the coast, was also destroyed, merely on suspicion of having been favourably disposed to the Arabs.

On his return from this service d'Almeida found himself involved in a quarrel with Albuquerque, who however succeeded in assuming the chief power. Alphonso Albuquerque, thus in possession of supreme authority, proceeded to carry out the extensive views of Don Immanuel to consolidate the Portuguese power in India. For this purpose he commenced to establish regular settlements fortified in such a manner as to defy native assault.

The name of Malacca was of frequent occurrence among the traders from the Eastward. The spices, gums, woods, precious metals, silk &c., brought to the Malabar Coast were described as coming from that place; and curiosity was alive to visit and explore the country of such valuable products. In the year 1504 Ludovic Watermans visited the Archipelago. From his description, together with the concurrent reports of the Officers from Calicut, it was determined to seize Malacca. An expedition was sent from Portugal on the 8th of April 1508, under command of Diego Lopez Sequeira, to *discover* Malacca. After touching at Cochin, Sequeira sailed thence to the Eastward, in the month of

September 1509. The first port he made was Pedier, on the North West Coast of Sumatra, and from thence, sailing Eastward, he arrived at Malacca about the end of the year.

At Malacca Sequeira found that the evil reputation of his countrymen had preceded him. The Arabs, who for a long time had exercised a powerful influence over the kingdom, represented them to the Malayan Prince as lawless pirates, who, under the pretence of treaties of commerce, ruined all the native Princes who trusted them. Cause of offence soon arose. A large body of the Europeans being decoyed on shore many of them were made prisoners, when Sequeira, not having a sufficient armament to revenge the injury, returned to Portugal for re-inforcements. Having taken a part in opposition to Albuquerque, in the late differences on the Malabar Coast, as to the Governorship, he was precluded from applying for assistance in that quarter.

On the report of Sequeira a powerful force was sent, under command of Diego Mendez, for the double conquest of Madagascar and Malacca. After touching at the former place, Mendez sailed on to the Malabar Coast, where however he was detained by Albuquerque, who determined to proceed in person to the conquest of a place of so much importance.

The Portuguese fleet, of 19 vessels, having on board 1,400 men, sailed from Cochin on the 2nd May 1511, and soon after arrived at Pedier, where some of the men belonging to Sequeira's squadron, after escaping from Malacca, had been hospitably received. From Pedier Albuquerque continued his voyage, attacking, apparently as a matter of course, and capturing a large native vessel, which proved to be the property of the son of the late King of Passé. The prince was then on his way to Java to claim aid to recover from a usurper, his father's throne. Albuquerque prevailed on him to accompany his expedition promising to restore him to his rights.

On the 1st day of July in the year 1511 Albuquerque arrived at Malacca. A messenger was sent off, in great state, by the king to enquire the objects of the visitors, and to say that if they came to trade, his master would supply them with whatever articles they required. As many of the prisoners from Sequeira's fleet were still in the hands of the Malacca king it was considered politic to

avoid open hostilities till their safety was secured. Accordingly Albuquerque replied that he wished to have these prisoners delivered, after which he would make known his further demands. This reply, when carried on shore, filled the city with consternation. The old king and a number of his councillors were ready to send the prisoners off; but his son, with the young prince of Pahang, succeeded in causing a more vigorous course to be adopted. A refusal was returned, the ships at once opened fire on the town and the prisoners were surrendered. Albuquerque now demanded payment of the whole expence incurred in Sequeira's expedition together with permission to build a Fort at Malacca. These demands were rejected. The Portuguese troops landed and they succeeded in getting possession of the bridge which formed the communication between the fort and the opposite side of the river and in maintaining themselves till night, when they were obliged to retire. On the following day they returned to the assault, with 800 Europeans and 200 Malabar men, and completely subdued the place, with the slaughter of great multitudes of the natives but without much loss to themselves, as we hear of only ten men being killed by poisoned arrows. The Prince of Pahang, after the first day's action, proceeded to his country, ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining further aid, but he did not return. He afterwards became a firm ally of the Portuguese, when that people began to form political combinations among the Malayan states.

After the reduction of the fort the king fled into the interior, the town was given up to plunder for 3 days and the Arabs with their connections were exterminated.

It is unfortunate that we are almost entirely dependant on the narratives of the Portuguese themselves, for an account of their proceedings during the first 80 years of their rule in India. It is not unlikely that an impartial historian would have given a different colouring to many transactions dwelt on with complacency by their own writers. The narratives of native annalists are so confused and so warped by prejudice and vanity as to render them of doubtful authority in any affairs connected with their own princes. This deficiency is particularly observable in all the accounts preserved of the early Europeans. The native work which purports to give the annals of the Malayan kingdom of Malacca, has a very

slight notice of the capture of its chief city, although that event must have been one of the most important in the history. It is sufficient however to strengthen suspicion to know that the strangers were received at first in a friendly manner and that the opposition, afterwards shewn, was the growth of misconduct. The resentment of the natives must doubtless also have been aggravated by the influence of the Arabs, here dreading further encroachments of the powerful rivals who had already so materially injured their position and prospects on the Malabar Coast.

The Portuguese found in Malacca an enormous booty, consisting of all the precious products of the Indian Archipelago, stored there for sale to the Arab and Indian traders.

In the absence of direct evidence it is difficult to trace the early progress of the Arabs in the Archipelago. There can be little hesitation however in asserting that, from a very early period of their possession of the Indian trade, their ships visited the chief ports, and carried on an extensive commerce throughout the islands and neighbouring countries.

This traffic appears to have declined subsequently. In Marco Polo's time, we hear of no great Arab and Christian Colonies in China, such as were described by the Arabian travellers of the 8th and 9th centuries; nor does it appear that the Sumatran and Javan Ports, visited by the Poli, were subject to great Arabic influence. A supposition might be hazarded that the Arabian connexion was broken at some unknown period subsequent to the 10th century, and previous to the 13th and 14th centuries, when the move commenced which resulted in the present state of Mahomedanism in the Archipelago. Two circumstances might be assigned to support such an hypothesis,—1st the rise of the great Hindoo Empires in Java; and 2nd such an improvement in navigation among the Chinese, Indians and natives of the Archipelago, as would render it unnecessary further to depend on foreigners to transport their produce. To strengthen the 1st, we may adduce the fact that the intimate Indian connexion with the Archipelago, which led to the establishment of a Hindoo Empire on Java, at the time in question, was contemporary with the struggle going on in Hindostan between the Ancient Hindoo Empires and the Mahomedans; an hostility which would probably have been extended to

the representatives of those religions in the Archipelago. As to the second, the accounts of the Arab travellers, in the 9th, 10th and 12th centuries, and of Polo's voyage, at the end of the 13th century, agree that Chinese ships constantly traded to Ceylon, and the Malabar Coast; stopping however on the Coast, from which we may infer that the Arabs received their cargoes of Indian commodities on that Coast, and not in the ports of production. The state of Arabian affairs in Europe at this time, previous to the influx of new energy by the Italian trading states, would further tend to give colour to a supposition that commercial enterprise among the possessors of Egypt was on the decline.*

Admitting that a break existed in the Arabian intercourse with these seas, the resumption is clearly to be traced. In the year 1204 the King of Passé, a trading port on the North West Coast of Sumatra, the first likely to be made by voyagers from the Westward, was converted to Mahomedanism, by an Arab Priest, a Sheik, named Ismail, who arrived there, not direct from Arabia but in an Indian vessel from the Malabar Coast. The work of conversion thus commenced, rapidly extended, and we find the extension was regular and steady, from West to East; checked and delayed round the thrones of powerful existing dynasties, which, in some instances, gave way before the Arab intruders, and in others removed the obstacle by the reigning sovereign being converted to the new faith. Mahomedanism extended rapidly down the Island of Sumatra. After nearly all the Maritime states were converted, it crossed the Straits to Malacca, then just founded by the ruler of Singapura, who had been driven out of that place by his Suzerain, one of the Hindoo Emperors of Java. This ruler was converted, and assumed at once the Mahomedan title of Sultan, about the year 1276 A. D. In Java the Empire of Majapahit withstood the efforts of the propagandists, after the Eastern portion of the Island was converted, and after successive portions of territory had been wrested from its rule. It was finally lost in the struggle. The empire was dismembered, and the dynasty was supplanted by the descendant of one of the Arab religionists, at a time immediately anterior to the

* There is a remarkable fact, noticed by Mr Crawford, in his "History of the Indian Archipelago," that not a single Hindoo or Buddhist inscription or monument exists in Java, bearing a date between the years A D 865 and A D 1220.

arrival of the Portuguese in India. At the period of that event the Mahomedan power was firmly established in the western portion of the Archipelago, including the Peninsula, but had made no progress to the Eastward of Java and Borneo. The arrival of Christian races, superior in every respect to the Arabs of the last two centuries, has prevented the further progress of this religion, both geographically and morally. Since the period of Dutch supremacy the first conversions, confined to the Coasts, have not greatly extended inland, nor, to the Eastward, has the new faith entirely removed all relics of Paganism.

The Portuguese found their enemies the Arabs in a position of great wealth and consideration in Malacca. It would appear that the locality of that Port suited the exigencies of their trade, and that they there collected the produce of the neighbouring countries. The Chinese, Japanese, Cochinese, Siamese, Bugghese, Javanese, Peguan, Indian, and Malayan traders, brought thither the productions of their several countries. There were found the silks, cotton, gold, copper, precious stones, fragrant gums, oils, woods, wax, camphor, spices and barks, tortoise shell, mother of Pearlshell &c. These and other articles were of small nominal value in the countries of production, but were of inestimable value in Europe, conveyed thither, as they had been, with such difficulty and expence. The ports on the North West Coast of Sumatra were probably found to be less conveniently situated, in all respects, for the Arab trade, and in consequence Malacca was fixed on by that people as their head quarters. On the capture of the city by the Portuguese, the Arab traders followed the expelled King to Bentan; where, by their aid and encouragement, a new port was established, to which they endeavoured to attract the trade heretofore centred at Malacca.

The Portuguese, after obtaining possession of Malacca, confined their attention to maritime affairs. They do not appear to have taken any steps to acquire territory, beyond what was necessary for the safety of the Town and Citadel. The ex-King had retired inland to Rambow, from whence he threatened incursions on the City. An expedition to expel him from that quarter was successfully undertaken; as a memento of which, the grave of some of the Europeans who fell, is shewn at the present day, on the far borders

of Nanning, under the name of the grave of the unbelievers ("Kubur Feringhi"). In the Town a fort was built, on the hill, on the site of the Malayan Royal Palace. Inside the fort a church was also erected, the ruins of which remain to the present day, a standing memorial of the people who made the propagation of the Christian faith one of their chief objects, in the gigantic enterprises of the 16th century.

Albuquerque remained only one year at Malacca, when, his presence being urgently required on the Malabar Coast, he departed thither; leaving the settlement under the command of Ruy de Britto, with a force of 300 men, to garrison the Fort, assisted by a squadron of 10 ships, with 300 soldiers to protect the harbour. The measures adopted by Albuquerque had succeeded in attracting numbers of Indian and Island traders to the Port, which began to resume its wonted air of activity and commercial prosperity. Ambassadors were received from, and sent to the neighbouring states. Among the rest one came from Siam, to thank the Portuguese for having chastized a rebellious subject. Had the judicious policy then opened by Albuquerque, been persevered in by his successors, they would doubtless have been spared many of the difficulties to which they were afterwards subjected.

The Portuguese Governors appear to have confined themselves to the trading concerns of the Port and the Government of the inhabitants of European and foreign origin. The native Malays were left under the management of a head man styled *Bandahara*.*

The first *Bandar* was named *Utimuti*, a Hindoo, who had taken an active part in the intrigues against *Sequeira*, but who was now, on making due submission, allowed to remain. Having great influence among the natives, he was appointed to the office; but he was soon discovered in a treasonable correspondence with the ex-King, and was in consequence publicly executed. *Pati Kuatir*, a Javanese of high rank, succeeded. He also became involved in intrigues; and at last broke out into open rebellion. With the aid of the ex-King, and a relative, named *Pati Oonoos*, also

* This title ought more likely to be *Bandara* or *Bandara*. *Bandahar* is the highest officer under the Crown, and in Malacca the office was held by the descendants of the 2nd King's brother. It therefore was not likely to have been used by the Portuguese, while the other is appropriate in every respect.

of Java, he established himself in the vicinity of the Town, where he proved a dangerous neighbour, and was finally expelled with difficulty. In conjunction with Pati Kuatir, the celebrated Lack-samana Hang Tuah, Admiral of Johore, entered the Malacca river, and, in spite of opposition, succeeded in entrenching himself above the fort, from whence he obliged the Commandant to retire into the Citadel.*

* The appearance of the Malacca river at the present day can give the reader no adequate idea of its state in the 16th century. The first requisite of every Malayan town is a river, on the banks of which the Malays delight to congregate, building their houses up to the edges or even over the water, on piles. From the appearance of the land up the river there can be no doubt that the place, at first, was a mangrove swamp, and the river an estuary extending some distance inland, unconfined by embankments or restraint of any kind, and, like all such rivers, crowded with vessels of large size. Under a European government the muddy banks of the river, particularly at the side on which the fort wall was built, would soon have been embanked. Gradual encroachment, as the land became valuable for building purposes, would, in time, reduce the river to its present narrow limits, and, in consequence, alter its character. It would appear that this is the true explanation of a difficulty which has raised doubt in the mind of many students of Malacca history as to whether the present is the site of the ancient town. The harbour is described by the older writers as having been very capacious and safe, whereas the present Town of Malacca lies on an open roadstead, without any protection from the weather. This discrepancy may be accounted for by the fact that the sea is never disturbed by great storms; and consequently ships can easily ride off the coast in the severest storms ever experienced. At the present day the small Achinese prows, and the ill supplied native square rigged vessels lie off Malacca, with safety, in the worst weather, and all through the year. The early navigators, accustomed to the boisterous seas of the north, and fresh from the exposed and dangerous coasts of India, must have considered the smooth sea off Malacca as a good harbour. The earliest writer Ludovic Westernmans, in 1503, describes the straits as a river giving it the name of Gaza, probably one of the corruptions of "Java"; as Zaba, Baza, Gaza.

In 1662 Newhoff says "the harbour is one of the finest in all the Indies, being 'navigable at all seasons of the year.'" It is certain that the Malacca of the "present day is identical with that of 1662. The same author mentions, "to the South of Malacca is a small island of half a league in compass by the Portuguese called 'Isle das Pedros.'" This island is correctly described. It is called Pulo Panjang by the natives, and the "Isle of Stones" by the Portuguese. It took the latter name from the fact of the greater portion of the stones, used in building the fort, having been obtained there. Again "about half cannon shot from the city is another small island called Melacca and by the Portuguese Isle das Naos "or ship island." This is the small islet now named "Pulo Jawa." Again, "two leagues from Malacca is a pretty large island called 'Sapta'" obviously the island at present known as "Pulo Besar." Judging from the appearance of the coast, which is described by competent geologists to be rapidly wasting, and taking into view the position and probable size of Pulo Panjang and Pulo Jawa 300 years ago, there can be little doubt that there was ample shelter for small vessels under those islands, while, for larger ships obliged to anchor outside, the smoothness of the sea prevented danger. Valentyn writing in 1726 says "opposite the town lie two small islands Ilha das Naos (ship island) which can be reached by a musket shot from the shore, and Ilha das Pedras where the stone employed in constructing the houses is obtained, but this is rather out of musket shot. Within these islands the carracks and Galleons of the Portuguese used to lie in from 4 to 5 fathoms water." This island has almost disappeared by abrasion; and the depth of water in the inner channel is now only about 2 fathoms. The traditions of nations are not easily lost and we can hardly believe that such an important event

Want of supplies at last compelled the Lacksamana to retreat, when the Portuguese, following him to sea, succeeded in driving him and his Javanese allies off the coast. In retaliation for these attacks the Javanese were expelled from Malacca. They were totally prohibited from future residence in the Settlement, to the great loss of the traffic, as they had hitherto, in connection with their own trading port of Bantam, in Java, been one of the most wealthy and enterprising classes of the commercial population. The King of Campar, a state on the opposite Coast of Sumatra, had eagerly sought for the office of Bandar, but his political position among the Malays had deterred the Portuguese from accepting his services, although aware of his hostility to his relative the ex-king. Ninaché Tuan,* a Hindoo of great wealth, was appointed to succeed the last Bandar. During his term of office the King of Campar, after fresh applications, was allowed to come over to reside in Malacca. He succeeded in making his way, by the help of the Portuguese ships, through a blockade, placed by the ex-king, on his coast, and arrived safely in Malacca. Opportunity was created against Ninaché Tuan on the plea of malversation in office, and he was superseded by the King of Campar. The disgrace fell so deeply on the ex-Bandar, that he destroyed himself on a magnificent funeral pile, in the market place.

The New Bandar, Abdulla of Campar, executed the duties of his office with so much discretion and ability, that, in the course of a few months, Malacca was restored to its former position and the native traders flocked to the port, as in its best days. The ex-King beheld this prosperity with an evil eye; he found means to convey to the ears of the commandant a suspicion of the designs of the Bandar, that unfortunate prince was seized, and without the form of a trial, was sacrificed to the fears of his ungrateful masters. The effect of this cruel measure was decided and instant. The place was deserted by all who had the means of moving and the Portuguese were left to their own resources, with a garrison ill

as the removal of the site of a capital city, could be left without record among the rudest people, much less among a comparatively civilized nation such as the Malays of Malacca. That the change, if any, did not take place after the arrival of the Portuguese would seem almost to require no argument.

* These names as preserved by the Portuguese writers are so corrupted that it is impossible to recover the true etymology. There is not the slightest trace of them to be found in native writings.

supplied with every requisite and open to the attacks certain to follow from the now exasperated Malayan chiefs. It was notorious that Abdulla had been devoted to the Portuguese interest, and it was argued that if he was not safe no one could feel secure under the rule of a tyrannical and bloodthirsty foreign government. The natives preferred to retire and seek in other countries a protection denied by these strange rulers.

The history of the next few years at Malacca presents to view a series of extraordinary disasters. The garrison, left without reinforcement, was reduced to the last extremity, and on several occasions was only rescued from total ruin by the opportune arrival of ships on passage to China and the Moluccas. The state of affairs on the Malabar Coast prevented for the present any hope of permanent relief; and it was not till the year 1526 that Mascarenhas the Governor-General, was enabled to sail against Bentan, the seat of the ex-King of Malacca, from whence the chief attacks were made. The Settlement at Bentan was destroyed. The ex-king then removed to the mainland where he established himself on the Johore river, while his Arab allies removed to Acheen.

The North West Coast of Sumatra, from its geographical position, must at all periods of the early history of these countries, have occupied a prominent position in commerce, and have been the seat of one or more native kingdoms, dependent on that commerce for prosperity. On the arrival of the Portuguese Pedeer was found to be the chief of these stations; but not entirely eclipsing Passé, a neighbouring port. Subordinate to Pedeer were several smaller ports, governed by Lieutenants; one of these, Acheen, now began to assume independence. In a surprisingly short time Ibrahim the Lieutenant-Governor of Acheen succeeded in achieving independence and soon after added to his rule Pedeer itself. Ibrahim was a stern professor of Mahomedanism. He early determined to expel the Christians from these seas. He encouraged the settlement of Arabs as more fitted than his own subjects for the arduous task which he had undertaken. In 1511 Acheen was declared independent and 15 years afterwards, on the destruction of Bentan, the Arabs from that port removed to Acheen. With the aid and stimulation of their presence, Ibrahim commenced a series of efforts

for the expulsion of Portuguese, which must be looked on now as little short of marvellous. Expedition after expedition was fitted out by him and his successors, till at last, in the middle of the next century, the Portuguese were driven from Malacca, and from the Western Archipelago. These attacks, made sometimes alone and sometimes in concert with the Kings of Johore and Japara, in the West of Java, afford an excellent opportunity of estimating the power and resources of the princes of the Western Archipelago, in the 16th century. To enable the reader to judge of them a few of the more conspicuous are here particularized.

In 1513 after the defection of Pati Kuatir, the Bandar, Pati Oonoos arrived at Malacca with a fleet of 300 sail. He was defeated with the loss of 60 of his largest vessels and 8,000 men. In 1523 the King of Bentan invested Malacca with a fleet containing 20,000 men, under the Lacksamana, in concert with a land force of 60,000 men. Alphonso de Souza opportunely arrived to the relief of the garrison, after effecting which operation he sailed to Pahang on the eastern coast. It will be recollected that the Prince of Pahang had opposed the landing of the Portuguese at Malacca; but soon after had made terms with them. Finding however the power of the strangers to be much weakened after the execution of the King of Campar, he had then declared against his former allies, and had seized 3 of their ships, which visited his port in ignorance of his altered feelings. De Souza now inflicted summary punishment for the defection. All the ships in the harbour were rifled and then burned, six thousand of the inhabitants were put to the sword; and vast numbers were reduced to slavery. In 1547 Acheen sent 100,000 men with 70 large war galleys. This force included 500 Egyptian troops. In 1550 the heroic Lacksamana was killed in command of a fleet sent by Johore, Japara and the neighbouring Malayan states. The Lacksamana, Hang Tuah, is the most remarkable character in Malayan history; he appears on many occasions to have combatted successfully against his formidable enemies; who moreover did full justice to his extraordinary qualities. His death at this crisis was a heavy blow and discouragement to the native governments, who were thus left without an adequate leader. Egypt was finally reduced by the Ottomans in the year 1517, and from that period, frequent ef-

forts were made to expel the Portuguese from India. Numbers of Turkish and Arabian soldiers were always to be found at Acheen, which state took the lead in the eastern alliance. Several treaties were made with the Governors of Egypt to expel the Portuguese and to restore the trade to its old channels, through the Red Sea and Persian Gulph. In 1547 a powerful naval expedition was sent down the Red Sea by Suleiman, the Magnificent, but the Portuguese were already too strongly established on that coast to enable the Turks to affect their power.

In the year 1567, a great confederation against the Portuguese was formed on the Malabar Coast, now held by Mahomedan chiefs. The adherence of the King of Acheen, on the part of the Eastern nations, was invited. The confederation signally failed and left the Portuguese nation in a better position than before, with the established reputation of having overcome the Arabian and Turkish power, in addition to the slighter opposition of the natives. As an auxiliary operation, the King of Acheen fitted out an extensive fleet against Malacca, with 15,000 of his own subjects, and 400 Turkish regular soldiers. Malacca was garrisoned by 200 European, and about 1,300 native troops, who resisted all attempts, and, finally, obliged the invaders to retire with the loss of 3,500 men. In the following year another fleet of 20 large gallies, and 180 smaller vessels, were met, and completely routed, off their own port, by a single Portuguese vessel of war. This vessel, passing along the Coast, was surrounded by the fleet. The crew fought with the courage of despair for three days; they destroyed 40 of the enemy's vessels; and were at last relieved by the opportune appearance of a friendly sail. In 1572 a new league was formed, as a part of the Mahomedan policy against the Christians in India; and a force was again sent, by the King of Acheen, against Malacca. In the next year a fresh alliance was formed with Japara, and a joint expedition of 7,000 men was sent against Malacca. They invested the place and were proceeding to starve the garrison into submission, when the vessels of all classes in the harbour were collected, armed, and sent out against the invaders with success. Next year the Admiral of the Queen of Japara appeared with 15,000 men and 300 sail, 80 of which are described as Junks of 400 tons burthen; but the feeble

attempt of the Javanese told lightly, after the valorous attack of the Janissaries of the Grand Turk. Such multitudes were destroyed, during this siege, that the air was polluted by the decomposing bodies; and after three months only 5,000 returned to Java. On the departure of the Javanese a fresh expedition arrived from Acheen, which is described as more powerful than any which preceded. Falling, with their whole force, on the frigates anchored in the roads, the Achinese succeeded in capturing them, and thus reduced the garrison to despair. There were only 150 men in the fort, of whom many were unfit for duty, when the Achinese sat down before the defences, with their large force, added to the artillery and warlike stores from the 3 frigates. As if, however, their unwonted success had surprised and unnerved the besiegers, on a sudden panic, caused by the cessation of firing from the fort, they retired, with all haste, to their ships; unaccountably impressed with the feeling that they had escaped some unknown danger; thus the garrison, which had ceased firing solely from want of ammunition, was saved from ruin. In 1582 a force of 150 vessels was sent from Acheen. After having been driven off Malacca, they proceeded on to Johore, to chastise the monarch of that country, who had, for the first time, on the occasion of a difference with his former Ally and father-in-law, the king of Acheen, sought the alliance of the Portuguese. A small force was sent to the relief of Johore, from Malacca, the Achinese were defeated, and were obliged to retire. In 1586, a force of 300 sail was prepared at Acheen, but its departure was prevented by the assassination of the king by his chief general, Moorad Aisa, who thereupon usurped the throne. This event proved a seasonable relief to the Portuguese, the new king was occupied in the management of his usurped power at home, while his external resources were applied to carrying on a fierce war against Johore. This war lasted for many years, and had the effect of attaching the monarch of Johore to the Portuguese, thus relieving them from the fear of further attack from that quarter.

At this time other European nations began to frequent the Indian Seas, but in order to preserve clearness in the account of the extraordinary rivalry and animosity between the Achinese and the possessors of Malacca, the narrative of the chief attacks against the

latter place is here continued till the period of the final expulsion of the Portuguese from the Western Archipelago.

The cessation of hostilities on the part of the Achinese lasted till the year 1615, when the reigning King Iskander Mudah, took advantage of the declared enmity of the Dutch and founded thereon hopes of being now able effectually to destroy their mutual enemy. He prepared an enormous fleet of 500 vessels, of which 100 are described as larger than any at that time built in Europe, and as carrying each from 600 to 800 men. The hostile fleets met off Malacca, the Achinese were again defeated with the loss of 20,000 men; the victors however were unable to follow the retreating enemy, on account of an expected attack by the Dutch, who were acting separately, a previous misunderstanding having precluded any concert with the Achinese.

In 1628 another force of 250 sail with 20,000 men and a number of heavy guns arrived off Malacca. They opened siege in form, regular advances were made and the outworks were successively taken. Notwithstanding the arrival of 2,000 men from the now allied state of Pahang, with five Portuguese ships from India, the besiegers retained their advantageous position though with the loss of 4,000 men till the end of the year, when a reinforcement of 30 vessels with 900 European soldiers arrived and blockaded their fleet which had taken a position in the Duyong river, about 3 miles to the south of the port. The Achinese were now obliged to give way and in endeavouring to break through the blockade their whole force was destroyed. Hardly a man out of the original 20,000 escaped. This terrible blow prevented the renewal of any farther attempt till the year 1640, when in alliance with the Dutch a final effort was made. After a siege of 5 months, Malacca was taken in the year 1641, after having sustained fourteen successive regular sieges from Acheen, six from Bentan and Johore, three from Japara and two from the Dutch, in addition to innumerable attempts of less note.

As if however its mission were now fulfilled Acheen rapidly declined in importance. That state, which had possessed itself of the whole of Sumatra except the ports immediately in the vicinity of Java, and which numbered among its tributaries all the Malayan princes on the opposite peninsula from Keddah to Johore, was

soon reduced to its original narrow limits. Acheen now leaves no trace to mark the locality of princes whose alliance and friendly offices in the 17th century were eagerly sought for by all the maritime rulers of Europe.

Late writers have thrown a suspicion over the accounts given in the early narratives, as to the power and wealth of the Malayan states when first visited by Europeans. They take exception also to the assertion that such a large body as 700 Europeans could have been spared from Goa so early as 1511. To this an answer is readily found in the fact that the Portuguese, unlike the English and Dutch of a later period, encouraged the emigration of their European subjects to India, forming with them large colonies to become the centres and pointes d'appui of further operations. It can hardly then be considered wonderful that an expedition sent from Europe expressly to attack Malacca, and reinforced by all the available means of Albuquerque, on the Malabar coast, should have contained so many as 700 Europeans. The same writers repudiate the idea that the Achinese ever made any attempt to batter or storm the walls of Malacca. As far as the Achinese themselves are concerned the supposition may possibly be correct, but they have forgotten that the Achinese were accompanied by large bodies of Turkish regular soldiery, in some instances as many as 400 or 500 having been present. The field of Mohaty, Belgrade, Rhodes, will prepare the reader of European history to believe that 400 or 500 of these men did not hesitate to attack and batter the Portuguese walls, defended as they were with 150 invalid soldiers of Portugal.

In the absence of vessels of equal capacity and equally well provided with warlike stores, there is nothing improbable in the fact that the Achinese, even with the assistance of the Turks, should have been unable to cope with the Portuguese at sea. With a fresh breeze and in the open sea, ill managed Malay prows, even if as large as described, would have no prospect of success against the Portuguese carracks; the naked eastern warrior would recoil from boarding the enemy in the face of the iron clad men at arms of western Europe.*

* As a proof of the close connection between Acheen and the Turks we may observe that the Achinese prows are unlike all other vessels in the Indian Seas, and bear a striking likeness to, if they are not identical with, the Caravellas of Constantinople.

The civil history of Malacca, under the Portuguese, will not require an extended review. The universal degeneracy of manners which soon spread through all their possessions, appears to have had an augmented influence at that place. The luxurious climate, the distance from control, and the example of their superiors, induced a degree of immorality which surprised their contemporaries and which placed the depravity of Malacca second only to that of the Moluccas. As early as the year 1547, on the visit of the Apostle of the East, the people of Malacca are described as follows :—"The Portuguese who lived there, at a distance both from the Bishop and the Viceroy of the Indies, committed all manner of crimes, without fear of laws, either ecclesiastical or civil. Avarice, intemperance, uncleanness, and forgetfulness of God, were everywhere predominant and the habit only, or rather the excess and number of their vices, distinguished the Christians from the unbelievers."* Saint Francis Xavier found sufficient to occupy his best attention in a corrupt society. He succeeded, according to his biographer, by the aid of numerous astonishing miracles, in reducing the people to a sense of their true state and in instilling some morality into their profane minds. While we discredit the miracles, we may excuse the pious fraud of the Saint, as it is evident that only the strongest remedies could be efficacious.

The good effects of Saint Xavier's preaching were only temporary. On his next visit he found the people had relapsed into their former iniquities. Before his final departure, Malacca was publicly cursed. Standing in the Church door the Saint took off his sandals, struck from them the dust and, declaring the place accursed, refused to bear away so much as even the dust from the earth. This curse is said to rest on Malacca to the present hour, and is frequently brought forward to account for the wretched state of decay and misery in which the place is now found.†

* See Father Bohur's life of St. Francis Xavier.

† "The once noble Church which crowns its summit, (St. Paul's hill) now but a wreck of the piety that dedicated it to the Visitation of our Lady, and of the grandeur of former times, acknowledges yet the admiration of every thinking eye, that gazing on the past in its embosoming tombs, sacred to the dead of centuries gone by, sees to what purposes and how low may fall the works of men, when a temple dedicated to the Saviour of mankind is become fit only for a powder magazine. How symbolical of a perverse stubborn hearted race; the once high minded Portuguese, led by the noble, the pious, Alphonso D'Albuquerque, whose immediate descendants, with a hasty degeneracy, despising their God, even in his Saints, have sunk under the curse of St. Francis Xavier, to the lowest

During the whole period of their occupation the Portuguese were subject to a constant succession of attacks from the Malays of the Peninsula, as well as from Java and Sumatra. Under the harassment of these attacks they were altogether unable to extend their power inland. The superiority of their ships and artillery enabled them to sustain attacks at sea ; but on land they were strictly confined to the limits of their fortifications. Their whole attention was devoted to exacting a profit from the passing trade. From its situation Malacca commands the route between India and the Archipelago. Past its harbour all vessels must sail and all were obliged to contribute to its treasury. A certain amount of duty was claimed from the master of every vessel, whether he traded or not, and a check was established at their Indian ports in the charge of double duties, against every vessel which came unprovided with the customs clearance of Malacca. These rules were easily enforced by stationing a few vessels, at distances, off the port to the Sumatran shore, so that no sail could pass without being seen.

The country round Malacca was deserted and uncultivated, while the town itself was not extensively peopled by natives. After the failure of the first attempt to govern the Malays through their own chiefs, it would appear that the population was almost exclusively Portuguese, with their slaves and half caste descendants.

The Dutch had early cast a wistful eye on Malacca. The situation of that port, with its strong fortifications, gave to its possessors the command of the Indian trade, which must pass through its harbour to the Eastward, and in the hands of a monopolizing power it could readily be made the means of exercising a vast and profitable influence. Frequent attempts were made on the Fort in concert with native allies. On the 17th of May 1606, Admiral Matalief made a treaty with the King of Johore in which the capture of Malacca, by their united forces, was the chief feature. On the 23rd September following the treaty was renewed ; but it

“ebb of ignorance and infatuation, which can possibly find a parallel in the pages of history, and of which their further descendants, traced in the present Indo-Portuguese Schismatics of Malacca, offer a living and pitiable example. This crumbling deposit, once a shelter to the sacred ashes of the dead, is now roofless, with the exception of the east end or chancel, which has been converted into a powder magazine.” Government Records :—Extract from a Medical Report of 1848.

was not till 1641 that they were finally successful, after a siege of five months, in expelling their hated rivals. The siege shed a last ray of glory on the declining arms of Portugal. The successors of D'Albuquerque did honor to their country. They defended the place till their numbers were reduced and till pestilence had done its work. Even then, reduced to the last extremity, and surrounded by the ghostly forms of famine, the brave defenders refused to surrender. Gold at last effected what the force of arms had failed to effect. In consideration of the promise of 80,000 crowns the Commandant consented to open the gates, the Dutch troops rushed in, and the traitor fell, the first victim to his own treason. He was slain in the melee and the Dutch refusing to pay, by his death, saved the price of his iniquity.

Malacca, December, 1853.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH-
EASTERN ASIA AND AUSTRALIA.*

By GEORGE WINDSOR EARL, M. R. A. S.

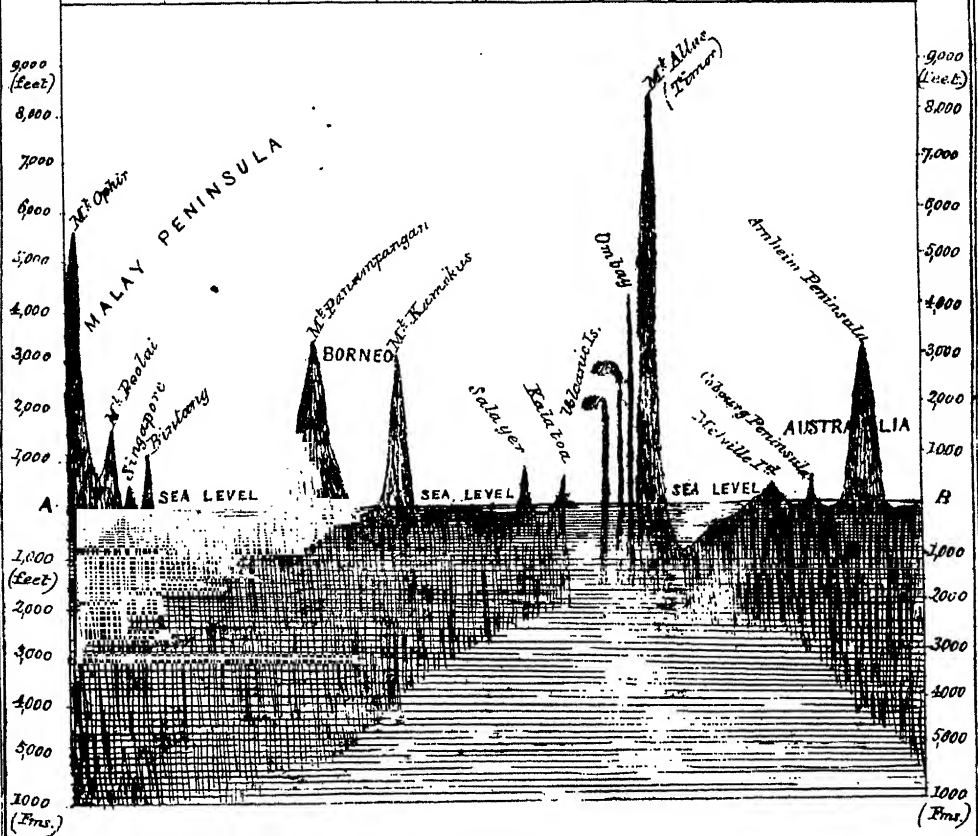
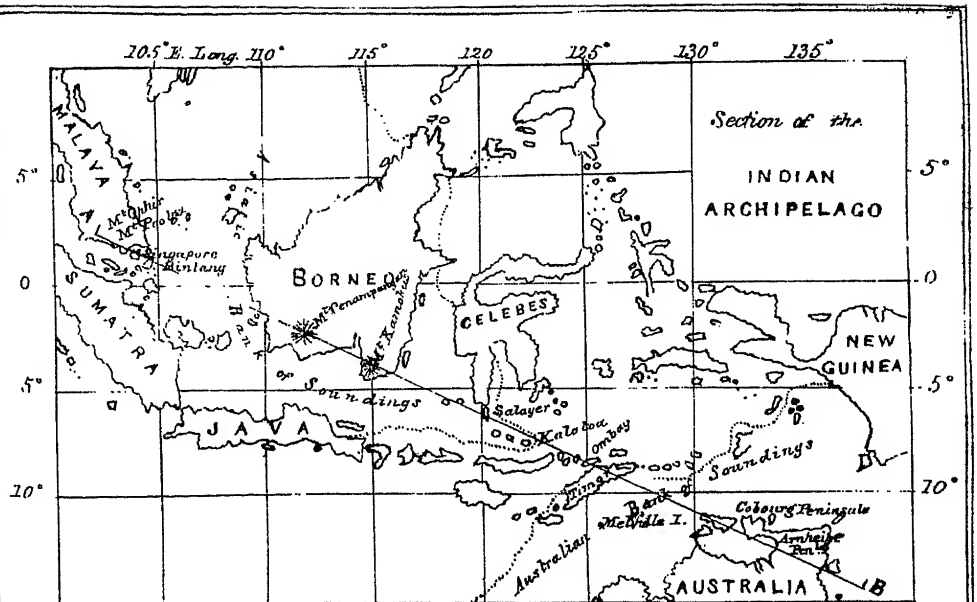
VII. SUBMARINE PLATEAUS.

THE Banks of Soundings (as they are termed by seamen) which extend from the continents of Asia and Australia towards each other, form very remarkable features in the physical geography of this part of the world, and, as such, became a subject of interest to the author of these papers more than a quarter of a century ago. The investigation which followed, resulted in enabling him to classify the islands of the Indian Archipelago, distinguishing the Volcanic Bands from the older formations, and there, he thought, the practical utility of the enquiry would end; but, within the last few years, the depths of the ocean have become of interest to others besides seamen and geographers, and the section-map which accompanies this paper will probably be acceptable to those men of science who are desirous of connecting Australia with the older continents by telegraphic wires. The map was printed nearly two years ago, for the purpose of illustrating a subject in no way connected with electric telegraphs, but in these utilitarian days the speculative must give way to the practical, and the writer will be well satisfied if the paper now produced assists and encourages the enterprise even in a small degree.

The Asiatic Plateau.

The Asiatic Plateau or "Bank of Soundings" extends from the south-eastern extremity of the continent nearly twelve hundred miles in a direct line towards Australia. It is bounded to the west and southwest by the islands of Sumatra and Java, the outer coasts of which are steep-to, shelving off rapidly to a depth which is unfathomable by the ordinary sounding apparatus in use on board ships. Borneo and the southwestern limb of the island of Celebes lie on its eastern verge, and the extremity nearest to Australia

* Continued from Vol. VI. p. 277.



is occupied by a group of islands extending from the southern limb of Celebes, of which Salayer and Kalatoa are the principal. The boundary of the plateau to the northeast is not so distinctly defined. It skirts the east coast of Cochin China throughout its length, and extends from it into the China Sea in a southerly direction for a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, when it is lost among the extraordinary cluster of coral reefs which occupies the remainder of the space between the coast of Cochin China and the islands of Borneo and Palawan — unless we assume that this same cluster of coral reefs is formed on a more deeply submerged portion of the plateau, an assumption which is favoured by the fact that the southern boundary of the plateau, which extends from the east end of Java to the island of Kalatoa is also skirted by coral reefs, which probably would have formed a “barrier” like that which bounds the Australian plateau in the Pacific, had circumstances been equally favourable to the development of coral formations.

The average depth of the sea over the plateau is from 28 to 30 fathoms, and rarely exceeds 45 fathoms except near the verge where the soundings necessarily become irregular. The bottom is of the same character throughout, except in spots where currents have swept and exposed the granite or iron stone rock, and here the coral insect will generally have established itself. Elsewhere the bottom consists of a clayey mud, mixed with sand and shells, which is soft enough while under water, but when taken up and dried gradually in a mass, hardens to such a degree that it cannot be broken up without the aid of a pickaxe.

No traces of volcanic action have yet been detected on any part of the plateau, the rocks and minerals being all connected with the older formations. It is, however, more than probable that the irregularities of surface that are met with near the northeastern verge in the China Sea, and towards its extremity at Kalatoa, will have been produced by the volcanic convulsions that have taken place in the immediate vicinity.

The extreme length of the submarine plateau, measuring from the head of the Gulf of Siam is 1,700 miles, and its greatest breadth about 800 miles.

The Australian Plateau.

The submarine plateau which extends from the north and north-west coasts of Australia, although covering a space at least equal to that of the Asiatic plateau, never reaches to a greater distance from the coast than 450 miles, and that only at one point. It is bounded on the east by the Great Barrier Reef which rises abruptly from the depths of the Pacific,—on the north by New Guinea, the Aru Islands and Timor Laut ;—and on the northwest by Timor and by an irregular line extending from that island to the Northwest Cape of Australia. The Barrier Reef which forms the eastern boundary, is a natural sea-wall of surprising strength and solidity, and doubtless owes its existence in so compact a form to the circumstance of the coral insect only attaining its full developement when incessantly washed by the clear waters of the open ocean. In every other respect, the Australian Plateau is identical in its character with that of Asia. The depth of water is of the same average ; the nature of the submerged surface of the plateau is precisely similar ; and there is the same tendency to coral reefs and other irregularities near the line where the plateau disappears in the depths of the ocean. The general character of the islands included within the area of the plateau is also the same, no recent volcanic formation having as yet been detected.

The Volcanic Gorge.

All the islands of the Indian Archipelago which are not included within the submarine plateaus defined above are of volcanic origin, and the greater number of the larger islands contain volcanoes in a state of activity at the present time. The seas which bound them are unfathomable by the apparatus in ordinary use on board ships, partly owing to the depth of the ocean, and partly to the strength of the currents, which seem to increase in velocity as the sounding lead descends, but this may be merely imaginary. It is certain, however, that there is a constant current setting in from the Pacific Ocean round the N. W. end of New Guinea, (partly caused by the easterly trade wind, and partly, perhaps, by the revolutions of the earth from west to east) which can find no other outlet to the Indian Ocean except

through the channels which lie between Kalatoa and Timor. These islands are distant apart exactly 180 miles, which may be considered as the width of the Volcanic Gorge at this, its narrowest, part. This space will have to be sounded before a Telegraph cable can be laid down with safety, for although I am of opinion, taking as a criterion the slope of the land on each side of the channels between the islands, that the depth of water will never exceed 1000 fathoms, it may possibly be considerably more.

[The following table gives the depth of water (where known) for every ten miles of the track which can be most safely adopted for a line of submarine telegraph in the present state of our knowledge regarding the deep-sea soundings. The track follows the Asiatic Plateau to its extremity near Kalatoa, when it crosses a gap sixty miles in width to the Iron Cape of Flores. This gap has never yet been sounded, but the depth is not likely to be very great, nor are the surface currents strong. The track then passes through the Gut of Larantuka, where the soundings vary from 13 to 50 fathoms over a rocky bottom. On leaving the Gut, a second gap has to be crossed, nearly ninety miles in width, and through which the current sets to the southwest almost without intermission, at a velocity, near the surface, of one and a half to three miles an hour, which, however, is very considerably less than the rate at which it rushes between Ombay and Timor. The entire length of the line, from Pedra Branca Light-house, in the Straits of Singapore, to Cape Bougainville, the nearest point of the N. W. Coast of Australia, is 1680 miles. A more direct line may be run from the Great Paternosters through Sapy Strait and skirting the northern shores of Sandalwood Island and Savu, which would shorten the distance nearly one hundred miles, and here even a large expenditure in deep-sea soundings would be justifiable on the part of those who may undertake the task of laying down the line of telegraph.]

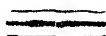
<i>Distance in Miles.</i>	<i>Depth in Fathoms.</i>	<i>Character of Soundings</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
10	12	Sandy mud	Pedra Branca Light-house, East, 10 Miles.
20	17	..	
30	20	..	
40	25	Stiff mud	
50	25	..	
60	25	..	
70	25	..	
80	26	..	
90	27	..	
100	27	..	
10	27	..	Saint Barbe Id. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 38 miles.
20	30	..	
30	30	..	
40	28	..	
50	28	..	
60	28	..	
70	28	..	
80	30	..	
90	28	..	
200	27	..	
10	28	..	
20	28	..	
30	27	..	
40	23	..	
50	21	..	
60	21	..	
70	21	..	
80	21	..	
90	23	..	
300	23	..	Carimata Peak, N.E. b E. 28 miles
10	24	..	Ontario Reef, West, 1 mile.
20	23	..	East Id. of Montaran Group, S. W. 8 miles.
30	25	..	
40	21	..	
50	27	..	
60	19	..	Cirencester Shoal, W. b N., 5 miles.
70	19	..	
80	15	..	Cirencester Bank, West, 7 miles.
90	18	..	
400	23	..	Discovery, East Bank, W. N. W., 8 miles.
10	29	..	

<i>Distance in Miles.</i>	<i>Depth in Fathoms.</i>	<i>Character of Soundings</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
20	22	Stiff mud.	
30	24	..	
40	17	..	
50	21	..	
60	17	..	Hector Bank, (d) North, 4 miles.
70	19	..	Tanjong Sambar, (southwest extreme
80	20	..	of Borneo) North, 50 miles.
90	22	..	
500	22	..	
10	23	..	
20	23	..	
30	25	..	
40	27	..	
50	27	..	
60	25	..	
70	25	..	
80	25	..	
90	25	..	
600	25	..	
10	25	..	
20	27	..	
30	29	..	
40	29	..	
50	32	..	
60	35	..	
70	37	..	
80	44	..	
90	40	..	
700	35	..	
10	28	..	
20	22	..	Arentes Group, S. S. E. 10 miles.
30	17	..	South Point of Borneo, North, 50
40	17	..	miles.
50	18	..	
60	20	..	
70	22	..	
80	22	..	
90	28	..	
800	30	..	
10	30	..	
20	32	..	

<i>Distance in Miles</i>	<i>Depth in Fathoms.</i>	<i>Character of Soundings</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
830	32	Stiff mud	
40	32	..	
50	34	..	
60	30	..	
70	45	..	
80	44	..	
90	65	Rocky	
900	60	...	
10	14	Coral Sand	
20	130	..	Hen & Chickens, N. b E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., 22 miles.
30			
40	16	..	
50	174	..	
60	15	..	
70	10	..	
80	75	..	
90		..	
1000	150		
10	55	..	
20	32	..	S.W. Point of Celebes, NW. 10 miles
30	62	..	
40	65	..	
50			
60			
70			
80	70	..	
90	45	Rocky	South Point of Salayer, N. W. 10 miles.
1100	75	..	
10			
20	110	..	
30			
40			
50	45	S. & Coral	} Passing through the Kalatoa Group.
60			
70			
80	21	..	
90	12	..	
1200			
10			} Depth unknown
20			
30	170	Hard	Angelica Shoal N. W. 2 Miles

<i>Distance in Miles</i>	<i>Depth in Fathoms.</i>	<i>Character of Soundings</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>	
1240		Hard	} Depth unknown	
50				
60	60	Rocky	} Iron Cape of Flores, South 4 miles	
70	} from	{ Rocky		} Passing through the Gut of Larantuka, between Solor and Flores.
80			13	
90			to	
1300			50	
10			} Depth unknown	
20				
30				
40				
50				
60				
70				
80	140	Rocky	} Copang (S.W. end of Timor) S. E. 10 miles.	
90	35	S. & Coral		
1400	46	Rocky	} Straits of Rotte.	
10	63	"		
20	189	"		
30	20	Coral		
40			} Depth unknown	
50				
60				
70				
80				
90	65	Coral		
1500	10	S. & Coral	} Heywood island. A dry sand-bank	
10	40	"		
20	70	"		
30	16	White Sand		
40	60	"		
50	55	S. & Coral		
60	60	Sandy mud		
70	62	"		
80	48	"		
90	50	Stiff mud		
1600	47	"		
10	44	Stiff mud		
20	43	"		
30	40	"		

<i>Distance in Miles</i>	<i>Depth in Fathoms</i>	<i>Character of Soundings</i>	Remarks.
1640	38	Stiff mud	Cape Bougainville, Lat. 13° 50' S. Long. 120° 10' E.
50	11	S. & Coral	
60	28	Stiff mud	
70	16	„	
1680	„	„	



ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO THE LAKE OF RANOW IN THE
INTERIOR OF KROEB.*

By J. PATULLO.

1820. We left Kroee on the evening of the 19th September, and staid the night at a dusun called Uluh. On the morning of the 20th we proceeded from this dusun at 5 o'clock and crossed a steep hill close to the village; about half past 2 P. M. we arrived at a shed on the bank of the river called Waye Assatt: this, which had been erected for our reception by the pangeran Uleh, served us for a lodging during the night. Our road lay through forests which precluded us from determining our course.

After passing a most uncomfortable night we proceeded from Waye Assatt, and ascended hills much steeper than those of the former day, in particular one called Tubbah Pituh (gunung tujuh) which took upwards of an hour and a half in ascending. On arriving at the summit of this mountain, I expected to have a sight of Pulo Pisang, but found the hills covered with so intense a fog, as to preclude all my endeavours to procure the bearings of the island. I however took a bearing from the direction which the chief who was in company pointed out, and which made the island to lie in a S. W. and by W. direction, but on this bearing little reliance can be placed. From thence we descended to the lake, by as steep a descent as that of the day before and much longer; the road over which we walked, being only the tracks of rhinoceroses and elephants rendered very slippery by an abundant fall of rain, proved one of a most perilous description, as in many places it lay on the brinks of precipices. About 3 o'clock P. M. we arrived at Lumboh, a dusun situated on the N. W. extremity of the lake, and dependent on pangeran Uleh.

On the morning of the 25th we proceeded in a sampan on a lake, after having finished our enquiries at Lumboh. The passage across the lake is sometimes rendered very dangerous by the sudden puffs of wind which come down through the valleys between the hills, and as they descend with great violence and

* Reprinted from the Bencoolen Miscellanies, 1820.

continue for a considerable time, they cause a very confused swell, in which the sampans, which are very long narrow and unwieldy, are rendered perfectly unmanageable and it is with great difficulty that either shore can be gained. One of these guests of wind Mr Beasley and myself experienced in our passage across, and being near the centre of the lake when it commenced, we with the utmost difficulty regained the shore we had left and took shelter in a small cave in the woods. The wind having abated, we made another attempt but were equally unfortunate, being again driven back; however by waiting till 7 or 8 o'clock at night we were enabled to cross, and reached dusun Sourabaya in Banding about midnight. In fact night seems the only proper time for attempting a passage with safety, as in the day the winds are very variable and no dependence can be placed in the appearance of the whether.

After staying at Sourabaya for a sufficient time to collect all necessary information, we proceeded on our journey on the 1st of October, and on the forenoon of that day arrived at dusun Suhubye, to which we had been most pressingly invited by the pangeran.

Having stayed at Suhubye for 2 days we proceeded on our journey to Warkie, where we arrived on the morning of the 3rd of October about 10 o'clock, and as we had finished all our enquiries we left it on the following day for Sukow on return to the sea coast. It may be proper to mention that at Warkie there is a hot spring, from which I procured a specimen of the water, and a piece of the rock from which it issues.

The lake of Ranow is a large sheet of water lying between 20 and 30 miles inland from the sea coast. It lies N. W. and S. E. It is encompassed entirely by hills from which it receives numerous rivulets. It is bounded on the S. E. by gunung Chukut Lioh kichil, on the N. W. by gunung Chukut Tambur, on the N. E. by gunung Si Menung round the base of which on one side it runs, and on the S. W. side by gunung Chukut Lioh gadang. Gunung si Menung I should suppose to be nearly 3000 feet in height, the others differ, but they may be reckoned to range from seven to twelve hundred feet. The shape of the lake is nearly that of a half moon, and I reckon its greatest length to be about

16 miles, and breadth 8 miles. The greatest depth is reported to be two hundred fathoms, but I had not myself an opportunity of ascertaining it.

The outlet of the lake is to the S. E. at a deserted village named Wallah in Banding, and the river is known by the name of Ayer Wallah. After proceeding in a serpentine direction for a day's journey it is said to disappear suddenly under ground, and run under an intervening hill called Pamatang Singang; on its reappearance it runs through the country of Lebah and at dusun Hadjie is joined by another river (said to have its origin in the Pasummah Makakow country) called Si Labung; from the conflux of these two is formed the Ayer Hadjie,* which runs through Lebah, and disembogues in the Palembang. Ayer Musi and Ayer Hadjie, we were informed by a chief from Lebah, were considered as the chief sources of the Palembang river, in his own words "Poko batang ayer Palembang."

The lake of Ranow abounds with fish, of which the natives enumerate fifteen different kinds, all edible. Wild geese and ducks abound, also two sorts of cranes called Dendang Ayer: these subsist on the fish.

The dusuns on the borders of the lake require no description, being exactly the same as those on the coast, and the natives seem in no respect to differ from the Lampung people of the coast. One circumstance may be however mentioned regarding their houses; instead of using the atap or puar leaf for covering in the roofs they generally make use of thin planks made from the Surian tree. Iju is sometimes, though seldom, made use of.—All the dusuns, Lumboh excepted, are under the authority of the Sultan of Palembang—All minor offences are settled by the head of the dusun or country and his proattees, those of a higher class are referred for decision to Rattoo Pamanggeling in Lebah, the vakeel of the Sultan of Palembang, and by him, should he not be able to decide, they are forwarded to the Sultan himself.

The inhabitants of Ranow are generally supplied with salt, opium, gambier, &c., from Lebah, whence it is procured from

* The Ayer Hadji takes the name of Kamring in the lower part of the course.

Palembang, and it is very seldom that they come down to the coast (Kroee) to procure supplies of these articles. Merchants from Palembang sometimes, though seldom, visit Ranow, bringing with them parangs, krises, cloths the manufacture of Palembang and Java, opium, &c., which they sell for ready money.

The cultivation of rice is almost entirely carried on by means of sawahs, which are generally very extensive round the different dusuns, and it is only in seasons of scarcity that recourse is had to ladangs. The natives likewise cultivate cotton (kapas) in a sufficient quantity to supply the internal consumption of the country, also tobacco and onions in small quantities; the latter, however, is far from being an article of general cultivation. These two latter articles are sometimes brought down to Kroee, but not generally by the natives themselves, the people of the coast buying them up and paying for them generally in cash, though sometimes they barter, &c.

The only manufactures of the country are cloths (kain sarung) made by the women for their own use; and a sort of cloth made from the bark of a tree called Troh (a species of artocarpus) generally worn by the men.

On enquiry respecting the source of the Tulang Bawang river, I was able to procure only the following information. The Tulang Bawang river is said to derive its source from the side of a lofty hill called gunung Gigug. It is there known by the name of Waye Umpoh and runs in a serpentine direction through the districts of Bumi Agong, Blambangan, and Negri Besar, which countries are under the authority of the Sultan of Bantam. At a short distance from the mountain whence the Tulang Bawang river derives its source, a river called Waye Hamaye, whose source is in the same mountain, runs into it, and near Bumi Agong it is joined by three others, one named Waye Bessaye, whose source is in a hill called gunung Keechow near Samangka, the other two Waye Rauam and Waye Abung; the sources of these two I could not after the most diligent enquiry ascertain. The mountain from which the Tulong Bawang river takes its rise is said to be perfectly inaccessible on account of precipices, and the road to it almost impassable.

After the most minute enquiry, for the purpose of obtaining information as to the countries through which the Tulang Bawang river runs between negri Besar and its qualloe, where it disembogues into the sea, I could not procure the least, as I could neither find nor hear of any person in the Ranow country or around it, who had traced the river to its mouth. The journey from gunung Gigug to Bumi Agong, I was informed, can be made with difficulty over-land by following the course of the river. From Bumi Agong rafts and sampans are made use of for the purpose of descending to Blambangan and negri Besar. The time taken by the natives from the foot of gunung Gigug to Bumi Agong is generally 3 or 4 days if during dry weather; from Bumi Agong to Blambangan 3 days, and from thence to negri Besar two days more. The country through which the Tulang Bawang river runs is said to be rather flat, but not much cultivated, except near the dusuns on the bank of the river, being generally covered with impervious forests.

The country at the back of the Ranow lake is stated to be flat and woody, and the population much scattered. The inhabitants, excepting the people of Lebah, seem from what I could understand, to be branches from Pasummah Lebar, and do not seem to be considered as subjects by the Palembang Government. They manufacture their own arms, gun powder, &c. which are of a very inferior description. They are I believe a marauding race, and keep the neighbouring countries always in fear. Having no head authority to keep them in awe or settle their differences, they are continually engaged in petty wars with one another. They are supplied with salt, opium, &c. from Lebah and Palembang in common with the other countries around them.

On Monday the 14th of Oct. we arrived at dusun Negri Socow. On the journey I found nothing worthy of remark, nor could I determine the course by reason of the road's lying through thick woods. Socow is situated in a valley and carries on an extensive cultivation of rice by means of sawahs. The dusuns were no longer inhabited except in a partial manner, the people having deserted them in order to attend to the cultivation of their sawahs. On this account the population was much scattered, and we were therefore unable to make an estimate. I however understood the country was far from having an extensive population.

On the morning of the 5th, we left Socow for Lewah where we arrived in the afternoon.—We were equally unfortunate during this day's journey in not being able to lay down the course. The country of Lewah offers nothing worthy of remark. It is situated very low, and the climate is extremely cold and damp. In consequence of its low situation it has extensive sawah grounds; they are not however sufficiently so to supply the wants of the inhabitants, who have therefore recourse to the ladangs, which are very extensive all around the country. Lewah is governed by a pangeran and twelve proatteens, who are in alliance with the Honorable Company. The customs and manners are exactly as those of the other inhabitants of Lampung. From Lewah supplies of rice, fowls, onions, &c. are now and then brought down to Kroee for which the natives receive in return, cash, salt, opium, betel-nut, and cocoanuts, neither of which latter articles are produced at Lewah, on account of the coldness and dampness of the climate.

On the morning of the 8th, I proceeded to the sea coast. The first part of the journey was performed along the course of the Laye river (which has its source in Lewah) over large stones. After following the course of this river for upwards of three hours I ascended a lofty hill called gunung Suhubye, and continued ascending and descending alternately, till about 3 o'clock, when after descending a short but precipitous declivity, we arrived at the river called ayer Pasang Tenang, which runs into the Kroee river. I also followed the course of this river for a considerable time, and had nearly reached a dusun called gunung Kamallo, about an hour and a half's walk from Kroee, when the freshes, occasioned by the heavy rains that had fallen during the greater part of the day, came down the river with great violence and prevented me from proceeding. I was accordingly obliged to take shelter in the woods. I remained in the woods till nearly 9 o'clock, when not finding the waters decrease, I determined to proceed, and after much difficulty arrived at Kroee at midnight.

Population round the Ranow Lake.

<i>Dusuns.</i>	<i>No. of Houses.</i>	<i>No. of married Persons.</i>	<i>No. of Grown up Males.</i>	<i>No. of Grown up Females.</i>	<i>No. of Male Adults.</i>	<i>No. of Female Adults.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Lumbo.....	10	10	36	23	15	13	97
Ranow,	14	2	26	18	24	12	80
Surabaya,	9	33	72	51	34	30	187
Banding Auging,*....	17	42	76	70	44	40	280
Suhbye	51	125	260	205	170	75	710
Padang Rattoo,...							
Ungkusa,							
Pila,.....							
Gadong,	14	30	46	48	38	22	144
Warku,							
Tanjong Jatie,							

Grand Total, 128 480 561 453 357 213 1,584

Population of Lemah.

<i>Dusuns.</i>	<i>No. of Houses.</i>	<i>No. of Married Persons.</i>	<i>No. of Grown up Males.</i>	<i>No. of Grown up Females.</i>	<i>No. of Male Adults.</i>	<i>No. of Female Adults.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bumi Agong,	10	50	50	56	31	30	167
Surubaya,	7	18	31	21	14	8	74
Kasugihan,	11	32	44	56	32	25	157
Paggar,	9	15	20	21	20	31	92
Negri,	12	54	60	60	40	58	218
Perwatta,	5	23	29	28	10	15	82

* This dusun consists of two, dusuns Negri and Pendaggang, but which have now united, in order to resist the daily apprehended attacks of the Makakows.

† These 5 dusuns are taken by average.

<i>Dusuns.</i>	<i>No. of Houses.</i>	<i>No. of Married Persons.</i>	<i>No. of Grown up Males.</i>	<i>No. of Grown up Females.</i>	<i>No. of Male Adults.</i>	<i>No. of Female Adults.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Banding,	5	16	23	27	23	17	90
Waye Mengaku,	5	16	16	18	17	15	65
Tanjung,	3	7	7	9	8	6	30
Gadong,	21	50	71	61	40	30	202
Sungie,	19	20	52	62	50	23	187
Genting,	10	25	37	38	26	23	124
Grand Total.....	117	306	440	457	311	270	1,499

Remarks.

The people being much scattered about in ladangs, about 500 souls may be added to the above number to complete the real population of the Lewah.

NARRATIVE OF A TRIP TO DOK IN THE MUAR TERRITORY.

By the Hon. Captain R. MACPHERSON, Madras Artillery,

Resident Councillor at Malacca.

LEFT Malacca at 6 A. M. on Thursday, 23rd September, 1857, by the old Ayer Molek and Bukit Chermin road and arrived at Ayer Panas at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. Road good, but having lately been re-made is yet so heavy that a carriage can with difficulty pass along the entire length—15 miles; had to walk from the 6th mile,—day exceedingly hot. There is only one hill of any consequence to mount on this road, namely Bukit Chermin, otherwise an excellent carriage way. Thermal springs at 4 P. M. 135°.

Started from Ayer Panas for Chabow at 4 A. M. on Friday 24th. The first part of the way, about 6 miles, marched by torch light, and through dense jungle; the following 4 miles comprise the villages of Jassing and Rheim, most flourishing and well to do, judging from the great extent of well cultivated paddy lands, the rich pasturage and many fruit trees; passed here so early that few of the people were stirring, so had little opportunity of conversing with them. Entered the forest at 7 o'clock, and after walking for 2 hours through fine virgin forest, the road a well cleared path, with a lofty wall of towering trees on each side, at 9 A. M. arrived at Chabow. No human beings exist in this forest, save migrating families of Jacoons. Met no beast or bird throughout the two hours walk, but from the many sounds heard, there was sufficient indication that it was thronged with the usual inhabitants of eastern jungles. The whole line presents a fine field for the botanist and florist, flowers and plants, beautiful and apparently rare, being very numerous.

At Chabow had a small open shed built, with a rough sleeping platform and a table of jungle sticks, and in this, Sir R. McCausland, Major Jackson, Mr Evans, Interpreter, Mr Baxter, Constable, and myself put up. The scenery around was exceedingly beautiful,—behind was the dense forest we had just emerged from, and in front Mount Ophir and subsidiary ranges, rising in many tints, high and abrupt with sharp serrated line, well defined against the clear blue sky; on one side high land well covered with fruit trees, and

on the other a large stretch of paddy land, but unfortunately not in cultivation this year, owing it was said to the disturbed state of the adjacent country of Muar.

Here soon gathered the Panghulus of all the neighbouring districts, with their followers, to pay their respects, and the scene became animated and full of life.

About noon Inche Saliman, the second in command of the Bugis force, who had previously visited me at Malacca, came to our bivouac with several of his followers. He said that his master the Rajah would have come, only he did not know what the custom was,—to do so voluntarily, or to wait till invited. Being myself desirous of seeing the state of the Muar territory, I told him that I should cross the boundary in the afternoon and pay Rajah Suliwatang a visit, and this we all did. We passed through a succession of the most lovely green grass glades imaginable, surrounded by belts of fine wood and with clumps of timber and single trees interspersed, more resembling a succession of carefully kept park lands, than nature in its wild and natural state. A walk of about a mile and a half brought us to Dok, which the Bugis, after having captured and burnt the greater portion of the village, have rudely stockaded.

We were received with great courtesy by Rajah Suliwatang and his chief men, outside the stockade, invited within and asked to walk up stairs, which we did at the great risk of our legs, our nasal organs suffering the while from various unpleasant odours. Salvoes of musketry were fired in honor of our entry, and after partaking of some very excellent coffee and declining some not very inviting looking cakes, we entered upon the main object of the meeting.

The chief Suliwatang is a straight-forward, sensible man, apparently free from those peculiarities of the native,—cringing, evading and lying. He said that although he could take no *order* from me, he was quite willing to receive and act upon my advice, and readily agreed to suspend all hostilities, unless he were himself attacked, pending the result of communications now passing between the Honorable Mr Blundell and the Sultan of Johore on the subject of the territory of the Muar, and meantime he promised to endeavour to induce the inhabitants in the neighbourhood to

return to their fields, and proceed with their usual avocations, to restore all their property, and to treat them with kindness and consideration. Indeed, it struck me that the Bugis were too glad to accept of our interference; for their position is doubtless a critical one—numbering but 70 or 80 men in the miserable fort, with difficulty in procuring provisions, and the Tumunggong of Muar with 400 men already in arms, the chances are greatly against the Bugis. I had written to the Tumunggong of Muar some days previously, strongly urging him to remain simply on the defensive until he had heard further from me, but before he could have received my letter, indeed just two days previous to our visit, he had with his followers attacked the Bugis stockade at Dok, suffering however on that occasion defeat and loss. In the same letter I had invited the Tumunggong to meet me at Chabow.

The Bugis Rajah requested permission to accompany us on our return, which he did with a retinue of armed followers; and after sitting sometime in our shed, partaking of wine and repeating the assurances that on his part there would be no more acts of violence, opposition or extortion, he took his leave.

I then sent for Inche Allang, the commander of the Muar forces, and told him of the result of my interview with the Bugis. I warned him against taking any further hostile part against the other party, told him that by his doing so he would forfeit all countenance or support from our government, and advised him to disperse his men and send them back to their paddy fields, leaving the question between the Sultan and Tumunggong to be adjusted at Singapore. With this message I packed him off to his master the Tumunggong. The Bugis having complained that many Malays from our side had joined the Muar men in their attack upon the stockade two days before, I strictly cautioned the Panghulus along our line of frontier against permitting a recurrence of this, threatening them with all sorts of pains and penalties should I hear of such a thing occurring again. In our rough shanty we passed as pleasant an evening as parties determined to be pleased can always do, and although the day had been hot and oppressive, with the thermometer at 94°, the cold wind blowing off Mount Ophir made the night pleasant and refreshing.

On Saturday morning 25th at 4 A. M. we started for Ching-

Ching by torch light. Our road this morning lay across alternate swamps and hills—the former we crossed by means of lines of three small round trees lashed together, resting upon uprights driven into the ground; the swamp below was deep and full of leeches, the footway narrow and slippery; so, by torch light particularly, progression was both difficult and slow. We passed large tracts of land under paddy and still more extensive tracts beautifully adapted for the growth of paddy, but not under cultivation. The hills are dotted over with native dwellings of a better class than are usually met with; fruit trees of many years of age, abundance of cattle, goats, and poultry, indicate that the natives of this portion of the Malacca territory are in a particularly flourishing condition.

We reached Ching-Ching at 8 A.M. and had much trouble in getting boats, the Malays protesting that there was no water in the Kassang, and that to attempt to get down the river would be useless. At last, however, we found one comparatively large boat secreted in the jungle, and with this and three canoes we made a start at 9 A.M. The first hour of our journey we did encounter a few difficulties certainly, but none turned out insurmountable,—the most amusing was our shooting over a sort of miniature waterfall. After 18 hours continuous pulling, save a halt of an hour on two occasions, whilst we bivouacked on the banks to cook our meals and rest the crew, we arrived at the sea where we found the gunboat at anchor. The course of the Kassang river must be exceedingly tortuous, judging from the time taken by us to get over a distance, in a direct line, not exceeding 18 miles. My pocket compass also indicated that we were often travelling in a circle. It contains a large body of water, is deep throughout, very sluggish, and often spreads out into lakes and lagoons of very considerable extent. The scenery where these exist is very beautiful, for they are usually walled round with a dark belting of splendid forest trees, some of extraordinary height, and many of the most fantastic forms. The great part of the run is through forest, and the course of the river is consequently much blocked up by fallen trees. It abounds with Alligators—a man had been carried away at Tassel the day previous, and on the Muar side we saw an unfortunate live cat lashed to a large hook, suspended over the water as an Alligator

bait, poor puss's tail being neatly adjusted to conceal the barb. The Kassang is our boundary river, separating our territory from that of Muar, now the scene of contest between the Sultan of Johore and the Tumunggong of Muar, both parties claiming the inheritance. The latter has always acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the Sultan, and paid him a small nominal tribute annually, but from all the evidence I could gather both in Muar and elsewhere the Tumunggong is regarded as the independent ruler of the territory, and collects all the revenues.

The Kassang can never be of much use as a highway for produce or commerce, on account of its tortuous course. Although by keeping our crew constantly at work we came down the river in 17 to 18 hours, the native boats always take two days and a night to the journey. The journey up the river must consequently be exceedingly tedious; indeed that it is so I can vouch for by experience, for when, under orders from the Governor, on the 11th of the month, I endeavoured to get up the river in the "Hooghly's" boats, after pulling from 10 p. m. till 8 the following day, 10 hours, we had only arrived at Tasseh, not one-third of the distance.

The mouth of the river is famous for its oyster beds, the fish being very large and of excellent flavor.

Once on board the gunboat we congratulated ourselves that our troubles were at an end, but we had sadly miscalculated, for a succession of light contrary breezes gave us a 16 hours passage to Malacca, where we arrived on Sunday evening. This was by far the most tiresome and tedious part of our journey, there being neither novelty to excite nor scenery to charm; the monotony was only broken by our landing on large Water Island.

Our four days trip has been one altogether of much interest, and I trust considerable usefulness. We traversed a district of country but rarely visited by the European, extremely beautiful and capable of agricultural advancement to any extent. It wants but more people and an infusion of energy among them to make it a very important grain producing province. But it is useless to hope for energy with the Malay; so long as he raises enough of rice with fruit sufficient for the bare necessities of the present, and seed for next year's planting, he is satisfied. The principal portion of the field labour is carried on by the women. It wants

a strong infusion of Chinese life and skill to draw out the resources of the country. We found the people on both sides of the Kas-sang excited and unsettled by the petty warfare going on between two indolent chiefs. We were successful in putting at least a temporary stop to this, in quieting men's minds, and getting them to resume their usual avocations. The very presence of Europeans, and especially of the European authorities, in those remote districts is attended with good, and favored as I was with the company of the Recorder, and the Officer commanding at Malacca, I have little doubt but that our visit will be often talked of and long remembered.

ADVENTURES OF C. Z. PIETERS AMONG THE PIRATES
OF MAGINDANAO.*

On the 17th May 1838, I left Menado for Gorontalo in the cutter "Petronella" with a cargo of merchandize of the value of *f*.6000 copper.

On the 20th I arrived at Kema and on the 23rd received on board an European serjeant named Hof, an artilleryman named Heintje and four Gorontalo soldiers with the wives of three of them.

On the 25th we sailed from Kema, but we had such heavy head winds that the rudder broke and we were obliged to put back to Kema, where we arrived on the 30th, and having repaired the damage, we again set sail on the 1st June and on the following day reached the coast of Tandano from which I shaped my course on the 4th.

On the 5th I put into Belang to procure rice and left it on the 7th.

On the 9th I reached Kotabuna and on the 11th proceeded on my voyage to Gorontalo.

In the evening of the 14th about 9 o'clock, I observed a prahu on the starboard quarter. I hailed her three times, asking from whence she came. When I repeated the enquiry a fourth time she was so close upon us that I could plainly see that it was a Balangingi pirate prahu in pursuit of us.

Shortly afterwards they fired upon the cutter with a four-pounder and at the sametime hoisted a light as a signal to other prahus which immediately replied in the same manner.

From the lights shown there appeared to be ten prahus in our vicinity.

All these vessels collected in the wake of the cutter and followed her from the evening till the morning.

On the morning of the 15th the prahus, to the number of 10 in all, five large ones and five small, ranged close up and an engagement ensued which lasted until ten o'clock.

One of my crew was killed by a ball and the man who generally served the long gun also lost his life. Two of the rowers were

* Translated for this Journal from the "Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volken-kunde,"—Batavia, 1855.

also so severely wounded that they were rendered incapable of pulling.

Two or three times the pirates tried to board my vessel, but I succeeded in keeping them off until I was so severely wounded in the left arm that I was no longer able to defend myself.

The pirates then neared us, throwing showers of stones and firing without intermission, and I received another wound which prevented me from keeping my place.

When I found that I could no longer fight, I threw the weapons which were within my reach into the sea, and had the keg of gunpowder placed beside me with the full determination to blow us all up rather than fall into the hands of the pirates.

The pirates, armed with spears or tridents, then climbed into my prahu, and one of their leaders approached me with his drawn sword (balingkong) and ordered me to surrender to him. I returned no answer. When he observed that I was covered with blood from my wounds, he sheathed his sword, but seized me so tightly by the throat that I could scarcely breathe. At this instant I dropped a burning cigar, which I had lighted for the purpose a moment before, into the keg of gunpowder, which immediately exploded, grievously bruising the pirate chief and myself over our whole bodies. The rest of the pirates jumped into the water and swam as fast as they could to their prahus, after wounding me in the breast and fingers. What further occurred I know not as I fainted from the pain of these last wounds.

When I came again to my senses I found that I was stripped naked and bound in a prahu, and that all my clothes and the goods which I had in my boat were plundered. The commander of the prahu in which I was caused me to be tied up by the hands, feet and neck.

The rope by which the captives are tied by the neck is taken off in the day-time. At six o'clock in the evening, whether they are inclined to sleep or not, they must lie down, and are bound by the feet, hands and neck to the deck of the prahu, and the rope by which their necks are confined remains within reach of the pirates who are keeping watch.

As long as a new captive has no fixed master, he must each day serve a different person, by whom he is fed. As soon as he is

appropriated by one of the pirates, he is allowed to eat with the slaves of his master, and if his owner is well disposed towards him he receives a short baju and a small sarong.

After I had been six days in the prahu, I asked one of the pirates, who appeared to be the mate, and who was eating at the time, to be permitted to return to my country. He immediately got up and gave me a blow in the eyes which completely blinded me and left me insensible for more than an hour.

I had been kept bound for 18 days and nights when we reached the island of Bangka. Off Likupang, the captives who were on board the ten prahus, and who amounted to one hundred in number, were divided amongst the pirates. Amongst these captives were natives of Ternate, Tidore, Bouton, Banggai, Sangir, Makassar and Gorontalo.

I fell to the share of a man called Baludin. When we were allotted, there were also other five pirate Captains present. These had been stationed off Banggai with small vessels and were driven away from thence by Kora-koras, and as they found they could not procure larger prahus they proceeded with their small boats to Balangingi where they divided their plunder and each man returned to his own prahu with his share.

Before I was taken by the pirates I had heard from persons that had made their escape from them, that whenever they found any of their captives were of superior origin, they sold them for large prices. On this account I warned my people and slaves, on the day we were sold, to be careful not to show me any marks of respect and not to call me by my real name. They were only to give me the name of Jumaat, or if they should forget that, then that of Domingo.

After I was bought my master asked me what my name was and I told him it was Jumaat, on which he gave me that of Kantores.

From Bangka we proceeded to Balangingi. During the voyage we had to struggle with strong contrary winds and high seas for eight days. When we reached Balangingi our flag was hoisted and the relations of the pirates hastened on board. They asked us what country and place we belonged to. I answered that I was a native of Murang; they asked where that was and I replied that

it lay between Kwandang and Gorontalo. As they seemed to think that Murang and Amurang were the same place, I explained to them that this was not the case, adding that Amurang was inhabited by subjects of the Company. They then asked if these people were Dutchmen, to which I answered that there was properly no distinction between subjects of the Company and Dutchmen. The only difference between them, I added, was that the first had a white skin and dark eyes and the latter a white skin and light eyes.

When I was on shore the people collected and asked me which was the most powerful, the Company or the Dutch? I replied that the Company was very powerful. "For instance, whenever they wish to make war," said I, "it does not cost them the least trouble to procure soldiers by hundreds and thousands for money. If the Company lost a hundred men on the field of battle they immediately had two hundred to replace them and this always went on until they obtained the victory."

I observed to them that the person they had killed in the cutter, was a Company's man and my master, at which they were much surprised as they had found no Spanish dollars in his possession. To this I replied that the servants of the Company did not require to carry money with them, as they could procure whatever they wanted by giving a note for it. If my master had not been killed they might have procured as much money as their houses could contain. On hearing this the pirates regretted very much that the murder had taken place and tried to find out who had committed it.

One day my master and his wife asked me to what kind of work I was accustomed. I said that I could not work and that my former master had only employed me in looking after his goods, accounts and dollars, and giving medicine to sick people. When they learned this from me, my master went and told every one that he had a slave who could cure all kinds of sickness. The consequence of this was that on the following day many persons came and asked me to tell them, from looking at their hand, if they were fortunate. I told them that I did not possess this art, but could only feel the pulse, on which they asked me to do this and tell them what was the matter with them. I complied with their

request and said that they were in trouble and could eat very little. They acknowledged that I had spoken the truth. Afterwards whenever I visited sick people I generally asked them for a small quantity of sweet potatoes and rice, which I carried home with me and divided with my comrades whenever I could meet them, as they were always suffering from hunger.

One day, when I was passing the house of a young unmarried woman who had newly arrived from Solok, she called me and asked if I was the person who by merely feeling the pulse could tell what they ailed. On my answering in the affirmative, she held out her hand to me, saying "Can you now tell me how long I will remain unmarried"? I felt her pulse and assured her that she would marry a handsome man from a great country, probably Solok, within three months. "Is that really the case"? she asked. "You will see" said I. I said this to her because the men of Balangingi reckon it an honor to marry a person from Solok.

This woman was so delighted with what I told her that she gave me whatever I asked for and related what I had said to her uncle who was old and sickly. This man immediately asked my master to let me come and cure him, and added that as soon as he was better he would give me anything that I wished for. However, when he was cured he only gave me a piece of yellow Chinese cloth, for which I had no use as it was too small to make a pair of trowsers or a jacket. I made it into a stomacher and a short kabaya.

At one time my master Baludin ordered me to prescribe for his teacher, an old man, named Languyang. He was seriously ill and could not walk. His wife asked me if I could cure him, but I said that the sickness was of too serious a nature for medicine to do him any good. I said this purposely, as I was afraid if the man died while I was attending him his death might be imputed to my treatment and I might perhaps be punished or killed. Notwithstanding my declaration his wife still besought me to prescribe for her husband even although he should die. She promised me that if he recovered from his sickness, she would give me two slaves, with whom I could trade as if I were free, and that I should be at liberty either to remain at Balangingi or return to my own country. She assured me that the customs of the country allowed this.

On this I took the case in hand. I collected a quantity of herbs which I boiled in a large pot and placed this under a stool on which I made the sick man sit, having covered him well up with mats and clothes. I then removed the lid of the pot and the sick man had a vapour bath which he declared did him much good. On the following morning about half-past three he found a kind of sea-crab with a white shell between the toes of his right foot. His wife immediately informed me of the circumstance and was very curious to know how it was possible such an animal could come into the house. I assured her that this small crab was nothing else than a sea devil which came to ask her husband why he no longer went to sea as he used to do. On this the wife beat the gong during the night when the whole family came to see the animal. They asked me what was now to be done, to which I replied "You must send me some priests and I will chuse men to go with me to throw this animal into the sea, but be sure not to forget to prepare plenty food for our use, that we may not feel the least hunger; for I assure you that if we have not enough to eat, a much larger animal will afterwards fix itself in the heart of the sick man. If this takes place it is all up with him, for he will certainly die."

On the same morning they got a prahu ready and placed in it a stool, an umbrella, different kinds of cloth and a bason covered with a board in which was placed the supposed sea devil.

I selected three of any comrades, who never received enough to eat from their masters, to accompany me, so that they might make the most of this chance.

After other four men had been placed in the boat to prevent us from running away, we proceeded to an island on which the Balangangi are accustomed to bury the bodies of strangers and of their captives. In order to give a greater appearance of earnestness to the affair, I caused seven stones to be picked up there with orders to the persons who held them to throw them into the sea as soon as I threw the sea devil into the water. After these instructions had been complied with I told my comrades in Malay, so as not to be understood by the persons who accompanied us, to take a good look at the coast as they might perhaps have a chance

of escaping. If such should occur they were not to wait for me, but to make known my detention at Balangingi. I then offered up the following prayer in Malay, in which my comrades joined me. "O ! Father who art in Heaven, forgive us what we may now be doing amiss, as our actions arise not out of mistrust in Thee, but only result from the straits in which we are, and from the hunger with which daily we have to contend. O Lord ! have pity upon us, and grant us a speedy deliverance from the hands of these people."

After having thus addressed our prayer to heaven, we returned to the house of the sick man where a great quantity of eatables had been collected. We made the most of this opportunity by eating up all that was placed before us. My three friends then returned to their masters well satisfied. I remained other six days in attendance upon the sick man, who soon felt much better, and I did not hesitate to remind him of his promise to give me two slaves, but he would not acknowledge it. I then determined to return once more to my master Baludien, whom I requested, three days later, to sell me. Instead of complying with this he ordered me again to take the sick man under my care. "As to your request, you can renew it when the sick man is completely recovered." However unwilling, I was obliged to obey his commands.

About this time a trading vessel arrived from Solok, on board which was the wife of a Chinese who asked me of what place I was a native. I answered that I was an inhabitant of Menado, on which she informed that she also happened to be from that place, and she added, "You must have patience for a little longer for I intend to purchase you." When the time arrived for her sailing she said to me "I will return soon in order to purchase you. Do not be the least uneasy on that head—you will speedily again see Menado. There is no want of opportunities of coming to this place, there are always many brigs and small vessels at Solok which come here to trade."

The same day I asked Baludien my master to give me a pencil and a sheet of paper. To his enquiry as to what I wished to do with them I replied that I wished to give a letter to Solok to a Chinese trader in order to procure some medicines. My master had nothing to say against this ; on the contrary he ordered me to procure a large supply of medicines.

I then wrote a letter in three languages—Dutch, English and Malay, of which the contents were as follows :—

“To all worthy Gentlemen and Captains of ships. Whoever may receive this letter is entreated to help me by purchasing me, for I have been so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the Balangingi pirates. Also five of my companions, who now find themselves between life and death, share in my misfortunes. I can no longer endure to live amongst these people, who despise all laws.”

Six days after sending this letter I left the house of the sick man in the Campong Sepa, as he was going to live in another Campong, called Sawang. Now that I had returned to my master I again pressed him to sell me, the more so as the person I had cured being a bad man had not fulfilled his promise to give me two slaves.

My master then said, “Why do you ask so to be sold? I always treat you as a brother, so that you have nothing to do but to cure sick people.” In this manner he endeavored to prevail on me to remain with him, but I said “If you will not sell me I will make away with myself, or kill some other persons so that I may be put to death; be assured that I would rather die than remain longer with you.” “Very well,” said he, “I promise to sell you, but you will repent when you afterwards fall into bad hands.”

After waiting for four days in vain for the fulfilment of this promise I went to the relations of my master, hoping that I might learn something of the matter. When they saw me they immediately asked why I had requested my master to sell me, to which I replied that I had a dislike to their country, especially as I had always been accustomed at home to eat three times a day and that I never wanted for money there.

These persons told my master of what I had said the same evening. The consequence was that on the following day my master asked me where I wished to be sold. I answered “At Solok”;—“Very well,” he replied, “I will take you there.”

The same evening a person came to Baludin who asked me if I would serve him; if so, he would not only give me good victuals but whatever else I wished for. Above all, he assured me

that I would be treated by him not as a slave but as a brother. "If you will follow me," said he, "I will purchase you from your master for two brass cannons." I replied that I did not wish to remain longer in that country, besides I wished to be sold at Solok.

The day after this my master took me to the prahu of his uncle who was named Tamsé, in which we were to go to Solok.

On the evening of the third day after setting sail we reached Solok about half past eight.

In hauling down the sail Tamsé let the bambu yard fall suddenly upon me by which I was wounded in the lip. This he did only through spite, because I would not remain with his nephew Baludin.

At ten o'clock we went on shore. I was escorted on each side by a man armed with a pike. We went to the house of a Solok man named Unkud who immediately asked me in the Malay language if I was not called Cornelis. When I said, no! he asked "are you really not Cornelis?" I again denied it. "What is your name then?" he enquired. I said that my name was Jumaat and Domingo. "Then you are not the person whom I am seeking," answered he, "if you were this Cornelis, whom I mean, I would buy you if it should cost me two lillas."

After he had said this, those present began to converse in their own language, and soon brought me a violin on which they requested me to play. I declared that I could not play upon the instrument. They then gave me a flute, but I assured them I could not blow it. When I saw these instruments I conjectured that I was known to some person in Solok. This was the reason why I pleaded ignorance.

After having remained two hours with Unkud my master and Tamsé called me to return to their house. While taking leave I heard the Solok men busily talking about Cornelis. I took the opportunity to give the wife of Unkud a signal with my eye. She went to the kitchen and called me there, asking what I wanted. I then told her that I was the Cornelis they were enquiring about. "You must be careful to conceal your name," said she, "for I am much afraid that they will sell you, for every day men from a certain kingdom in Borneo, the name of which I don't know, come

here to buy men for large prices and these men have a custom whenever one of their relations dies, of killing a slave. If they don't do this they must remain, however long, in a state of mourning."

Through the influence of this woman I was bought the same day by her husband Unkud for a lilla of the weight of one picul. I immediately received from my new master a pair of trowsers, a Chinese baju, a sarong and a head-kerchief.

On the following day, which was the 9th August, Unkud took me on board a small brig belonging to a Chinese trader who seemed to be pleased with me as he gave me tea and tobacco. Unkud asked if I would serve this Chinese, but I answered in the negative.

I was then taken for sale on board the Spanish brig "Leonidas," the Captain of which was called Escrebano. As they could only speak Spanish there we went to the American barque "Minerva." The master of this vessel was named M. A. Somis.

After Unkud and I had saluted the Captain, the latter asked me where I came from and what my name was. I replied that I was from Menado and that my name was Cornelis Zacharias Pieters. As soon as I had said this he told me "It is good that you are here, for I have been seeking for you, having received your letter from a woman. You must not take it ill that I have not shaken hands with you, for if I did that they would ask a large price for you. You had better now go forward and I will speak with this man (Unkud) about your purchase."

As soon as I went forward I met my nephew Abraham Schults who had formerly been bought through Unkud. He told me that he it was who had informed Unkud that I was person of consequence. "You have probably done me a great disservice" I remarked. He said that he had intended the contrary, as he thought by speaking well of me I might be the quicker released from the hands of these barbarians.

After I had remained about half an hour forward Unkud called me to return home with him, because, as he said, this unbelieving Captain would not purchase me. The latter however told me in the English language that Unkud had asked a very high price, and would not take a cent less than 1,000 dollars.

As I agreed with the Captain that the amount was too great and I knew that I would never be able to repay him such a

sum, I said that I would return in a couple of days to inform him of my wishes regarding the matter. I asked him when he would sail and after he had assured me he would remain there till October, Unkud and I left the vessel.

When I landed I was so very much dis-spirited that I could not think what further to do. After a time it occurred to me that the best plan to adopt was to feign sickness. I therefore sat the whole day before the door with my eyes fixed upon the sea. When they called me to my dinner, I said that I could eat nothing as my old sickness had returned upon me.

Afraid that I might grow worse both Unkud and his wife besought me to take something. I told them, however, that when labouring under this kind of sickness I could eat scarcely any thing as it prevented my breathing. "What medicine are you accustomed to take" asked they, "we will try to procure it from the ships without delay." I told them the name of the medicine was cholera-cartonis. As soon as I had mentioned this they went to the different vessels to seek for this medicine. At half past seven in the evening they returned quite cast down, having been unable to procure the cholera-cartonis.

They then made a clear bubur. Of this they entreated me to take some, however little, as an empty stomach was very far from beneficial. I remained, notwithstanding, firm in my determination not to eat anything.

At ten in the evening I made my arms and legs tremble as if I was attacked by the Cholera. They then began to pull my legs and arms so hard that I was pained in all my limbs. At last they called a person to cure me. He took some water and sprinkled it with a leaf over my face, at the same time making a noise as if he were fishing.* This buzzing was so tiresome that I was obliged to request him to desist, stating that his treatment had relieved me.

The same night I again pretended to be very unwell. After having acted in this manner for two days and nights, I felt really indisposed on the third day, which I was not sorry for, as I

* Some natives of the Archipelago have a custom, when they are angling, of making a kind of noise which they think attracts the fish.

thought it was better to die than to live at the mercy of people who could do with me what they pleased.

Three days after I had remained thus sick, my master returned from the ship at eight in the morning with the joyful intelligence that Mr Somis had purchased me. He then told me to eat something lest the Captain seeing me in this feeble state should wish to be off his bargain. I told him that I could not possibly eat anything. The mate of the ship then arrived to receive delivery of me from Unkud.

When I arrived on board the Captain told me that he had bought me for 300 Spanish dollars; he wished me joy on my delivery from my unfortunate condition.

[Pieters then went to Zamboangan, in the hope of being able to find a passage to Menado in two whaling ships which were said to be lying there, but they had sailed the day before his arrival. From Zamboangan he returned to Solok, and was taken by Captain Somis to Manila, where he resided for some months, until at last he met with a vessel bound to Menado, in which he embarked, and at last arrived there on the 27th June, 1839. He gives the following list of fortified and unfortified campongs on the island Balangingi :

1. Buwasuwang.
2. Seppa (fortified).
3. Bukit Tingal.
4. Suitang.
5. Paat.
6. Boalimu, consisting of three compongo.
7. Balangingi (fortified).
8. Basangmundi.

Near Bukit Tingal is a place called Madiuliam. Whenever the former campong is attacked the women and children retreat to Madiuliam, from whence there is an outlet to the east coast.]

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EASTERN ASIA.

THE EUROPEANS IN THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO IN THE
16th AND 17th CENTURIES.

By T. BRADDELL, Esq.

THE policy pursued by the Portuguese in India was in accordance with the spirit of their age. Europe was still involved in the middle age darkness; commerce had made slight advances; and the state of society did not require a general interchange of commodities, each country being confined to the use of the productions of its own soil. The existing commercial interchanges of Europe were in the hands of a few cities in Italy and Germany, which, by superior intelligence, evidently the result of their connexion with the East, managed, for centuries, to preserve the exclusive advantages of supplying the countries of Europe with such articles of luxury and refinement, as their respective degrees of civilization required. In the beginning of the 16th century, the advancing power of the Northern nations had caused the decline of the Hanseatic League, and the trade carried on by the members of that league, having no foundation in domestic industry, fell into the hands of others, now more favorably situated. The trade rested for a time in Flanders

communicating at the same time a slight influence to Portugal.

The Portuguese were not by any means a mercantile people. Their maritime enterprise arose from another source, and may be traced, in the first instance, to the personal character of their Princes, and to the chivalrous love of enterprise which prompted their nobles to add new countries to the realm, and new subjects to the Church of Rome. These fortunately were coincident with certain favorable conditions of political and geographical situation, which placed the Portuguese in a position to take advantage of opportunities for advance at a time when other European nations were unprepared. To prove that the art of commerce had little share in fostering the spirit of maritime enterprise among the Portuguese, it is only necessary to refer to the fact, that, after the discovery of the Cape passage had given them the supply of Europe with Indian commodities, the distribution of these commodities was left entirely in the hands of the Flemings, although the experience of centuries, and the daily examples of the wealth and consequence acquired by the cities which enjoyed the trade, thus abandoned, clearly exhibited the vast benefits of that traffic.

Prince Henry, son of John I, had early devoted himself to the study of geography and astronomy, with a view to improvement in the art of navigation. The conquests of his countrymen on the coast of Africa, in which he played a distinguished part, furnished opportunities for acquiring practical experience which afterwards led to the circumnavigation of that Continent; an idea early conceived by the Prince, but which he was not permitted to see realized. His grandnephew John II took up the cause of maritime discovery with singular energy, and was at length rewarded by the discovery of the long sought route to India, a discovery which his successor Emmanuel the Fortunate carried out to such eventful results.

The King of Portugal was gratified by the Pope with a grant of absolute sovereignty over all the countries which his subjects might discover to the Eastward. This exertion of authority, on the part of the supreme head of the church, was quite in accordance with the ideas and feelings of the age, which sanctioned the principle, that those members of the great human family who professed a different religion were, and ought to be, excluded

from the common rights of humanity. The second Portuguese expedition sent to India under Cabral, and also all subsequent ones, carried priests, who had orders to introduce the Christian religion with fire and sword, into whatever countries they visited.

The Portuguese entered on their career in India, therefore, less as traders than as masters, to whom had been entrusted absolute authority, even to death, over all the Pagans whom they might be able to subdue. Their cruelties and bloodthirsty energy, in effecting their conquests, though they cannot be justified, may perhaps be explained :—1stly, by the preaching of their religious instructors, who taught that infidels profited more by instant death, than by the continuance of a life which would only add to their sins the obstinacy of refusing the cross ; and 2ndly, by the rules of war, which had not yet tempered the ferocious soldier of the middle ages into the humane and generous warrior of our more fortunate era. The early voyagers fell on the unresisting natives, robbed and despoiled them, and inflicted irreparable injury on their governments and institutions, without giving them one benefit to counterbalance such desolating evils. Had it not been for the presence of the Arabs, as bigotted religionists and as fierce propagandists as themselves, the Indian Archipelago would have relapsed into a howling wilderness. The native governments overturned, and their countries thrown into a state of anarchy, were only partially upheld and kept together, by the influence and assistance of the Arabs : a people who, though absolutely superior to the most advanced races inhabiting the coasts of the Indian Ocean, have succeeded in keeping up for centuries, active political, religious and mercantile relations, without violating the tenderness and respect due to their hospitable reception.

The so called trade of the Portuguese was at first carried on in the name of the King, in the national vessels, and with the national capital. All the maritime states in Asia were rapidly visited according to the importance of their commerce. Wherever they were attracted by a shew of prosperity and traffic a factory was formed, the native government attacked, and if unhappily, not powerful enough to resist, was driven from the country or suffered to remain with the exercise of a nominal

authority. Regular colonies were formed at commanding points; sometimes in new but oftener in established situations. Europeans were encouraged to settle in the colonies, and were permitted to enjoy the whole Indian intermediate trade; in addition, at a subsequent period, to that with Europe, except the more valuable spices, of which a monopoly was reserved to the Crown. On the Malabar Coast factories were established at Calicut, Cochin, Diu &c, and colonies at Goa and at Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Calicut and Cochin were old established stations for carrying on the Eastern Island trade, and had replaced, in the course of events, Muzzeris, Baroche, and other trading dépôts in existence at the commencement of our era. Goa was a thinly peopled island, in the mouth of a river, about the centre of the Malabar coast, and therefore favourably situated politically and commercially. A colony was formed here as the head quarters of the Government of India. The island was fortified so as to be impregnable to native attack. Magnificent Churches, Palaces, and other public buildings, were erected, and numbers of Europeans were induced to settle. The place, now shorn of its former grandeur, remains a monument of national vicissitudes.

Ormuz was a colony expressly intended to command the trade which, from the earliest periods, had centred about the Persian Gulf. Originally the kingdom of this name included the land on both sides of the Persian Sea, and all the contained islands, but its great wealth attracted such constantly recurring attacks from the Turks, in the 14th century, that the reigning prince retired to the barren island, which now bears the name of Ormuz, and which remained a port of great importance till 1622, when the English in alliance with the Persians, took the place and destroyed its 4,000 houses. Trade then took a new course, and the town which had 40,000 inhabitants, was deserted. Possessing a splendid harbour, though a mere well of salt, the Portuguese made Ormuz the centre of their operations in the Persian Gulf. Malacca was a colony and the chief settlement in the Western Archipelago. A factory was several times attempted on the N. W. Coast of Sumatra, and with partial success at Passé, but after the rise of Acheen, the garrison was exterminated, and none of the subsequent attempts to gain a footing on that coast succeeded.

The Spice Islands early attracted the visits of the Portuguese as the source of those productions which formed the most remarkable feature in the India trade. Settlements were formed there, as also in Borneo, China, Siam, Java, Celebes, Timor, Solor, and indeed on every island and country in and near the Archipelago where any prospect appeared for carrying on a profitable intercourse.

The trade was generally speaking unrestricted by any fixed rules of policy ; but, from the open violence of the stronger party, who seized whatever suited their purposes, without respect to the rights of possession, it must be evident that it could not be expected to flourish. The advantage acquired by the superior civilization of Western Europe, of trading at the ports of production proved instead of a benefit a means of direct injury to the natives, who saw their ports deserted and their established industry diverted into fresh channels. The injury was increased by the more systematic oppression of the Dutch ; and now the consequence is seen in the fact that with every means of visiting the countries of production, and there obtaining commodities and disposing of their cargoes, the European merchant of the present day is obliged to forego this advantage and to resort to ports where, as in the dark ages, goods are brought at great risk and expence to be exchanged for others to be carried, at similar disadvantage, to the countries of consumption.

The Dutch and English commerce with these countries arose a century later than that of the Portuguese, and at a time when the arts of civilized life had made some progress. The universal corruption of the Church in the 15th century had called forth efforts to reform a system, depending for its existence on the ignorance of the masses. Knowledge, hitherto confined to the ministers of religion, was now rapidly spread to all classes, and literature revived, through the printing press ; one of the first fruits of which invention, was the discovery of America, and of the new Passage to India. These discoveries brought in their train remarkable inducements to commercial enterprise, and increasing intelligence soon turned to account the advantages thus afforded. Improvement was rapid, and extended into other countries, now, fortunately, in a more favourable position than heretofore. At

the end of the 16th century the Dutch and English were enabled to commence the career which finally divided the Archipelago between them. The Portuguese came, in the barbarism of the middle ages to conquer and despoil Pagans; the Dutch and English came, in the improved spirit of their age, to extend the mutual benefits to be derived from the interchanges and civilizing influences of commerce. Would that their conduct had been more worthy of the advantages they enjoyed, but the Indian Islanders soon found that they had only exchanged the open violence of the Portuguese, for the more insinuating, but equally ruinous, monopoly system of their successors.

With the exception of the voyages of Drake and Cavendish the Dutch were the first to arrive; an advantage they owed to their Fleming neighbourhood. In April 1595, a fleet was prepared at Amsterdam, but no one was found capable, by experience in distant countries, of conducting the expedition. The close monopoly of the Portuguese had succeeded in effecting the exclusion from the East of all but their own countrymen. Under these circumstances the offers of a Fleming, named Cornelis Houtman, then confined for debt in Lisbon, were accepted. It was supposed that he had a knowledge of the trade, derived from a previous residence at Goa and Lisbon; and that this knowledge would be sufficient to enable him to undertake the charge. The expedition intrusted to Houtman's care, required for its proper conduct, a rare union of firmness, enterprise, judgement and mercantile knowledge. In some of these qualities he appears to have been deficient to an extent which afterwards caused serious inconvenience. After a passage of 10 months the fleet arrived at Bantam, then a considerable port in the Straits of Sunda.

The Dutch and English, as leaders of the great Protestant party, considered themselves at liberty to disregard the Pope's grant of the 15th century; but the Portuguese, then under the Crown of Spain, were prepared to preserve their rights by the sword; and as Spain was at war with the Low Countries, as well as with England, it was necessary that the trading ships should be well armed, and that they should sail in fleets.

At Bantam the Dutch were well received by the natives. They found the Portuguese influence already on the decline. A

commercial treaty was entered into with the Rajah, by which the parties bound themselves to trade fairly and to afford mutual assistance in case of attack. These friendly relations though cemented by a mutual dread of the Portuguese, were of no long continuance. Moderation was eschewed by men of inferior moral apprehension, in their intercourse with a race in possession of many objects of desire, and quite unable to defend their rights. An open rupture at last occurred. The Dutch were obliged to leave the place, after putting to death, by repeated broadsides from their ships, upwards of 100 of the natives. From Bantam they proceeded along the shores of Java, calling at the several ports, where their conduct was not calculated to win respect. At one of the Madura ports the King of the country, in the most friendly manner, offered to visit the chief's ship, with his family. Preparations were accordingly made for their reception. The family of a Mahomedan prince, including great numbers of retainers of all kinds, male and female, in this instance filled many boats. The Dutch became alarmed at their numbers, and the wrong direction the boats accidentally took. Three guns were fired from the chief ship; when, as if this were the signal to fall on, the other ships opened their fire; and, of that vast multitude, only 21 persons escaped. Such conduct as this must have had the worst effect; but the natives were driven to straits by the iron rule of the Portuguese; and any change appeared desirable. They hoped that the Dutch would still be found able and willing to release them from their oppressors.

Houtman's expedition was followed by several others, independent of each other, and only uniting in self-defence against the Portuguese. Their trade and connexions at first were chiefly confined to the Sunda Straits and the Spice isles. At Bantam they carried on a successful traffic, obtaining, at that port, the various products of the Archipelago. Acheen was visited, but was found to be too independent for the purposes of men who already had accustomed themselves to trade sword in hand.

In 1602 the English arrived under Sir John Lancaster. He brought letters and presents from Queen Elizabeth to the King of Acheen, the fame of whose exploits, in the numerous attacks on the Portuguese, had already spread to Europe. After a friendly

reception and trade at Acheen, Sir John proceeded to Bantam where he was permitted to establish a Factory. This expedition was succeeded by others, and the English commenced a competition with the Dutch; while the efforts of both were united against the Portuguese. In the year 1602 the Dutch system of separate chambers was abolished, and all their interests were united in one Company. From this period both nations began to erect factories, and to establish themselves on a permanent footing. The English trade commenced under the auspices of a Company guarded and fostered with exclusive privileges, the only means, according to the ideas of the day, by which extensive mercantile enterprises could be guided to favourable results. The Dutch and English, under the corporate form, rapidly spread over the Archipelago. They established themselves in every Port of consequence, and soon undermined their predecessors, who now found themselves, after the lapse of a century, quite unable to compete with their rivals of later growth. The system, under which the prosperity of the Portuguese had grown, was exploded by newer modes. In trade a long course of irregularities had quite unfitted them to take part in the present competition; while, in war, the vigorous seamen of the north were found to be more than a match for the degenerate successors of the first conquerors of India.

The love of glory and generous enterprise, which distinguished the early Portuguese navigators, had given way to the seductions of ease and luxury which followed on the total subjugation of these countries. A universal degeneracy and profligacy of morals ensued, which left the Portuguese at this crisis unable to resist the encroachments of their rivals, and with the accumulated injuries of a century to revenge on the part of the natives. The alliance of the new comers was everywhere sought by native states, in order to expel their old oppressors, an operation very soon perfected in every trading port excepting those fortified settlements, such as Malacca, where colonies of Europeans had been formed. The Portuguese possessed no mercantile facilities, they were wholly unable to compete with the Dutch and English traders, and as the presence of the latter prevented them any longer using force in the conduct of their commerce, they soon ceased to attempt a

trade beyond the limits of their own settlements. They were no longer able to exchange glass beads for the precious stones and gold of the Archipelago.

The Dutch and English, at first in alliance against the Portuguese, soon began to find that alliance incompatible with their separate objects and wishes. The strength of their mutual enemy was soon tested. It was found to be not so dangerous as was anticipated and jealousy rapidly widened a breach no longer kept closed by fear. Within the first few years of their appearance they had visited and formed factories at almost every trading port in the Archipelago except Malacca. Acheen being too strong and being inimical to European connexion, the chief attempt of both nations were directed to Bantam, at the Sunda entrance to the Archipelago. The Dutch afterwards moved on to the neighbouring state of Jacatra, where, taking advantage of the internal dissension of the native governments, they possessed themselves of land, and in 1619 laid the foundation of Batavia, a city which became the capital of their Indian possessions. From this period the Dutch assumed a superiority which was afterwards fully established in the affairs of the Spice islands. The English had early turned their attention to the profitable trade in spices at the Moluccas. They had made considerable progress in acquiring a footing on those islands, but in the course of European politics their efforts were not assisted from home, while at the same time, under the vigorous republican government of the Low Countries, every support was given to the establishment of the Dutch power in the Indies. A convention was agreed on in 1620 between the two Companies. The Dutch proposed to attack the Nutmeg islands, but the English were unable to furnish their share of assistance to such a project. The Dutch effected alone the reduction of the Portuguese garrisons and proceeded to monopolise the trade. The English Company protested, and an arrangement was effected, by which the Dutch, in consideration of the arduous struggle they had carried on, retained two-thirds of the trade, leaving one-third to the English. This arrangement was only nominal. English weakness prevented the possibility of enforcing a fair fulfilment; and at last the massacre at Amboyna expelled the English from the Moluccas. It was not till the reign of Cromwell that our

countrymen recovered satisfaction for one of the greatest crimes recorded in history.

In 1641 the Portuguese were driven from Malacca, and with the loss of this their chief stronghold their influence over the Archipelago ceased.

The system pursued by the Dutch and English, though apparently a refinement on the more direct robbery of their predecessors, had in the end a more prejudicial effect on the well being of the native states. Each party aimed at the possession of an exclusive right to trade. No means of secret and open opposition were spared to effect their purposes. Whatever alliances or political relations might exist between the parent countries, war was almost always the normal condition among themselves in these seas, while towards the natives a system was pursued such as has been unknown, heretofore, among civilized nations. Wherever a trade had been collected at any port, by reason of its favourable position for commerce or the advanced state of its government, the Europeans settled themselves. Under the pretence of protecting their lives and properties, they erected forts whose guns were turned on the neighbouring town. They forced from the sovereigns of these ports engagements, misnamed treaties, in which they assumed the exclusive right of purchasing at fixed prices all available produce and declared themselves free of all duties and taxes. The only advantages allowed to the natives in return for these valuable privileges was a so called protection from their enemies or in other words the expulsion of all other European traders. Under the guns of their forts they purchased, if such a term can be applied, whatever they desired of the produce of the country, and of the articles imported for sale by the neighbouring traders, giving in return for these purchases whatever they were pleased to consider a fit equivalent. In this way cargoes of the richest description of spices &c., which sold in Europe at enormous prices, were obtained here at almost nominal cost. Factories were formed along the shores Sumatra, the Malayan Peninsula, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Moluccas &c. &c. and ports thus dealt with, if unfortunately they were unable to expel the intruders, were rapidly reduced to ruin, native traders ceased to frequent them, and the Europeans, finding them no longer profita-

ble, left them. Their own iniquities were excused to their employers by the false statement that the increase of piracy or the treacherous character of the natives had wrought a change which would no longer permit them to keep up a profitable connexion.

This was the system in the ordinary Ports ; but there was another class which deserves more attention,—the pepper and spice ports. The production of Spices, particularly nutmegs and cloves, is confined within narrow limits. From the origin of foreign trade with these islands they formed one of the most valuable articles of export. In the first year of their arrival in the Archipelago the Portuguese visited the Moluccas, where they soon afterwards formed establishments. They took from the natives, for the European market, whatever portion of spice they required : but they did not otherwise interfere with the production and native trade. The Dutch, after their struggle with the Portuguese had given them a footing in the Moluccas, commenced a system of policy which may safely be said to have no parallel in the commercial history of the world. They determined to monopolize the production of nutmegs and cloves ; to grow only sufficient for the consumption ; and, in order to prevent a fall in prices, to destroy all which might be beyond the quantity required. They extorted from the native chiefs, treaties, resigning the trade in spices, and binding them to destroy all trees in their territories, except those kept up in the Dutch gardens. These regulations were resisted to the last by the natives: the whole population of Banda was exterminated and force at last prevailed. The cultivation of nutmegs was confined to the Banda group ; and that of cloves to Amboyna. Besides the case of nutmegs and cloves in the Moluccas, native interests suffered in the general restrictions placed on the culture of all their indigenous commodities ; while even their ordinary industry was checked and kept in control by the actions of their taskmasters. The gold, precious stones, tortoiseshell, mother of pearl, wax, tripang, the numberless gifts of Providence, ilung with a lavish hand on their favoured shores, were one and all appropriated, as if the Almighty, in his inscrutable wisdom, had permitted the Island races to become the heritage and the bond slaves of Europe. Their measures of punishment increased in proportion to their gifts.

The system of Factories was general all over the Archipelago among the Portuguese, Dutch and English. The successful intruders, after expelling, or otherwise getting rid of, their European rivals, if any, proceeded to monopolize the trade of the place,

The Ports thus overshadowed, soon fell into decay ; as no commerce could survive such an oppressive monopoly. Of these ports, Bantain and others, on Java ; Patani and others, on the Malay coast ; Bruni and others on Borneo ; Palembang and others on Sumatra ; Tidore and Ternate in the Moluccas ; Goa and Boni in Celebes, are instances where Europeans found a flourishing trade, which by their conduct they quickly ruined. Fortunately for the reputation of our country the English had not so much influence in these seas as the Dutch. In the general confusion attending the civil wars of England, during the middle of the 17th century, mercantile progress languished ; and the nation was not able to afford that assistance, in ships of war and other protection, which was so lavishly extended by the Dutch Government to the trade of their India Company. The partial policy of William III favoured any accession to the consequence of his continental subjects, and no steps were taken, from fear of interfering with the Dutch, to extend British interests in those seas. The English lost ground in consequence in the Archipelago, and turned their attention more to the continent of India, where in 1612 Captain Best had acquired the favour and protection of the Mohamedan authorities at Surat. The Portuguese, jealous of this near approach to Goa, fitted out a strong force against the intruders, but in an obstinate sea fight which lasted two days, the English, with a very inferior force, asserted their superiority over the Southern enemy. In after times, when the power of the Dutch was found to be too strong in the Archipelago, the English transferred their chief attention to the Continent, and there, almost unopposed, they commenced the erection of that Eastern Empire which is now the envy and astonishment of the world. Their relations in the Archipelago were henceforth chiefly confined to the collection of pepper on the Sumatra coast, and to the trade with China.

The seclusion of the Chinese and Japanese from the rest of the human family, has excited the astonishment of casual observers,

but a very slight acquaintance with the history of these countries will be enough to explain the reasons for a policy, sufficiently barbarous, it is true, but the only one effectual to secure the integrity of these empires, amid the indiscriminate destruction which fell on surrounding countries. The seclusion is quite of recent origin, as the Chinese and Japanese, at first, kept up an active intercourse with the natives of the Archipelago, and with the early European visitors. Burmah, Siam, Cochin China, and Cambodia were not remarkable for the production of any articles which excited the cupidity of the European traders. Those countries were neglected for others more favourably situated. China and Japan each produced articles highly valued; silk, silver, copper, drugs, and afterwards tea. The commerce of these countries was opened to the first European traders; and their visits were encouraged. As early as 1521 the Portuguese however commenced a course of unjustifiable violence. Taking possession of a spot of ground, they erected a gallows; and committed such excesses that the Chinese Government seized Perez, (an Ambassador who had gone to Peking) with all his suite, and sent them down to Canton; where, on a continuance of their enormities, open war broke out, Perez was put to death, and the ships, under Andrada, were driven out of the river, with heavy loss. This check, with the subsequent firmness of the Chinese authorities, had the effect of confining the Portuguese to a more moderate course in China, than they had been in the habit of pursuing in the Archipelago. From the personal courage and enterprise of the Japanese they were much employed, by the feebler native chiefs of the south, in capacities requiring the exercise of such qualities. Almost all the early Dutch native soldiers in Java and the Moluccas, were Japanese. During the continuance of the Portuguese rule their violent rapacity and irregular mode of conducting trade, rendered their visits and connexion dangerous to the existence of the smaller states, whose power and consideration depended, in a great measure, on the trade at their ports. A system of robbery and violent seizure, under the name of trade must have and indeed had the effect of reducing the ports so situated, to ruinous decay. But in the large kingdoms, such as China and Japan, these losses

fell more on the traders at the extremities of the empire, and as the royal treasury was not affected, but continued to reap advantage from the trade, no steps were taken to put a stop to an evil which was confined to a few. The Portuguese had not arrived at the degree of civil progress, which gave rise to monopolies in trade affecting the interests of whole empires. They made use of their strength, in these seas, chiefly in seizing by force whatever they required. They did not trouble themselves with the difficulties of extensive and intricate systems of commercial policy. The Dutch, on the contrary, had these systems. They directed their power more towards the success of general plans for future, as well as present, benefit to themselves. They surrounded all the states with the meshes of their commercial nets, which they did not, by any means, refrain from strengthening by open violence, wherever they had a prospect of doing so with impunity. They extended their power and conquests, at last, to the actual possession of countries, with which they were, at first, content to have the privilege of trading. Their great progress in the Archipelago, acting in conjunction with the effects of the indiscreet zeal of the Spanish and Portuguese missionaries, at last drew down the sentence of the expulsion of all Europeans from China and Japan, and the almost total seclusion of those two empires from communication with the rest of mankind. The numerous embassies sent between the Chinese and Japanese and the European governments of the Philippines and Formosa, sufficiently testify to the desire on the part of those nations, at first, to keep up a close friendship and alliance. An instance is given which shews the remarkable contrast between the early and later policy of China. After one of those portentous crimes which were of frequent occurrence in the 17th and 18th centuries, when thousands of unresisting Chinese immigrants were put to death, a sacrifice to the fears of the European authorities in Java and Manila, the Emperor sent an embassy to Manila, to demand an explanation of the reasons for thus putting to death such numbers of his subjects. Since that date, 1603, there have been numerous instances of similar massacres but the Chinese authorities have never interfered. Their altered policy has caused the departure of their subjects to be looked on in a different light. The Chinese emigrant is now left to the fate he

courts if he determines to transgress the law by leaving country.

The system of trading under the guns of fortified Factories, introduced by the early European navigators, must be considered as the cause of most, if not all, of the evils which followed, evils which continue to depress these countries below the position they are entitled to hold in the scale of nations, from the value of their productions, and the wealth, intelligence, and numbers of their people. Enough has been said to show the causes of the rise of this system among the Portuguese. It now remains to point out its effect under their successors.

The English and Dutch commenced their intercourse with the disadvantage of having a European rival, already settled, and prepared to oppose by force their establishment. The system therefore might be defended as expedient, so long as the Portuguese remained at war with the Dutch and English. After that time it must be viewed and judged, on its own merits, in relation to its consequences.

Instances of powerful civilized nations trading on terms of equality, with inferior races, possessing valuable commodities, are rare in history. It would be difficult to point out any parallel; but there can be no hesitation in condemning the continuance of the system to a period, when the rights of the weakest nations had been long practically acknowledged, and acted on in Europe. That the use of any such precautions, as were considered indispensable in these seas, arose not from the exigency of local circumstances, but from the violence and misconduct of the early Europeans, is rendered clear by the fact that the Arabs, a race almost as superior to the Malays, as the Portuguese themselves, carried on trade with these islands, for centuries, without having found the necessity of fortifying their warehouses, and setting up an independant authority. Their objects were almost precisely the same as those of the Portuguese, religious propagandism and trade; and that they were in a position to reduce the islanders to subjection, had that been their wish, is manifest from their course of conquest all over the civilized world. If a further proof were required, that force was unnecessary, it will be found in the fact, that, during the early part of the 17th century, before the monopolies were strictly

enforced, private traders were invariably received at all the ports, and at many where the companies had been expelled. These traders were able to carry on a profitable intercourse without any forts or protection, beyond their own principles of fair dealing. The Americans enjoyed the same advantage, from the commencement of their intercourse about 1784; a time when the Dutch and English were labouring under the disadvantage of the full vigour of the factory system. The true origin of the policy must be sought in the sordid and grasping avarice of the early traders. These men invested with power, for the use of which their previous habits quite unfitted them, saw every question in the light of mercantile profit. It would almost appear that they looked on the resources of these countries as a lawful booty, to be taken by the strongest. From ignorance of political relations, and of the law of nations, they saw little reason to restrain the use of their power for present advantages, and they were quite unmindful, or ignorant, of the effect of their measures on the future welfare of the natives, and indeed on their own intercourse with them. The early Dutch and English appear to have vied with each other in enforcing, under the pretence of treaties, a more strict monopoly of commodities at the ports where their influence was all powerful. On obtaining a territorial position, they forced, under a similar pretext, the production and exclusive sale to themselves, of the produce of the country. This system had the effect of raising the opposition, and at last the deadly enmity, of all classes of the natives. The chiefs saw their ports deserted, their revenues destroyed and their authority relaxed by the overweening arrogance and tyranny of their European visitors, while the people were reduced to a state little better than slavery. The natural resource for the chiefs was piracy. They only followed the example set by the Europeans themselves, in taking possession of whatever they were strong enough to retain. Afterwards when the Europeans had ruined all the native trading ports in the Archipelago, and had drawn all the available trade to settlements formed by themselves, they became obnoxious to the attacks of those they had driven to such courses. They then gave the name of piracy to the exact course which they had seen no impropriety in following themselves. Previous to this period

piracy was almost unknown. Unfortunately there is no difficulty in tracing its further progress, till it became the occupation and means of living of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Archipelago. The more independant and advanced traders of old are now met as the most dangerous pirates. The history of piracy in these seas must be written from its commencement, and with due observance of the causes of its origin and progress, before the English public can be put in a position to judge of its enormity, and of the best means for checking its increase. A reference even to the European writers themselves will prove, that it was only after their own crass injustice and oppression had driven the natives to despair, they attempted, in their own manner, according to the means natural to their condition and state of civilization, to remove a power so incompatable with their happiness and even existence. A list of ports in which the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries saw a flourishing trade would fill pages. If the amount of that trade may appear trifling in comparison with the gigantic operations of the present day, it was still sufficient to collect happy and industrious populations, to give employment and the means of living to countless thousands who would otherwise have wanted any inducement to raise themselves from barbarism.

It is an observable fact that of all the native trading ports of the Indian Archipelago of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, not one now remains extant. Indiscriminate ruin has fallen on them all, and their places are either entirely lost or are kept in remembrance by the establishment of Europeans settlements on their ancient sites. In every instance where an old native name is kept up it will be found that the native city and government had fallen into irrecoverable decay, and that the present status is due solely to the European government.

I would wish especially to guard against the appearance of extenuating piracy in any shape, but from the interest which has been excited on the subject in Europe it is high time that the English public should be informed of the real facts of the case. We cannot be held justified in making a robber and then punishing him for his iniquity. The first step towards improvement is evidently to restore the islanders to peaceful homes and secure industry, with inducements to work for an honest livelihood. It is not

sufficient to let loose ships of war and to exterminate whole tribes without providing any means for the remainder to avoid their former evil courses. The present is not the time in England to argue coldly on the destruction of a whole race as the only means of remedying an evil for which no single palliative or attempt at cure has yet been tried, and which may be said to have originated through the crimes and misconduct of Europeans themselves. It is an ascertained fact, and one that says little for the efforts hitherto made for the suppression of piracy and the consequent protection of the fair trader, that next to meeting with a piratical fleet the native trader avoids no class of vessels with greater solicitude than our ships of war and gun boats.

It will require some direct proof to support assertions as to the monopolizing tyranny and consequent destruction of native trade. It is easily obtained in a perusal of the treaties forced on the natives. As an example an extract is here given of one of the celebrated "Bongaay Contracts."

This treaty, dated 18th November 1667, contains 30 articles and was made between the "great and mighty King, the Kings, and other petty powers of Macassar" and Admiral Speelman, on the part of the Dutch.

Art. 1 confirms the treaties of 19th August and 2nd December 1660.

2. All European servants and deserters to be given up to Dutch.
3. The stores &c. of 2 vessels wrecked to be given up to Dutch.
4. Signal punishment to be inflicted on such persons as have been guilty of the murders committed in divers places on the subjects or servants of the Dutch Company.

5. The Mighty King &c. "shall have to mind, and to care, that the debtors of the Dutch Company, without exception, do come forth and discharge their debts and arrears to the Dutch Company."

6. In conformity with the last treaty all Portuguese to leave, &c.; and as the English are considered by the Honorable Company as the instigators and authors of the former rebellion they must also leave. "It is further agreed that the said high powers of Macassar shall never in any province or district under their jurisdiction, either now or hereafter, under any pretence whatever, suffer to enter, admit or tolerate subjects of any European nation,

whatsoever nor grant license to any native powers not in alliance with the Honorable Dutch Company, to trade or settle in their kingdom."

7. "A free trade in Celebes, and particularly in the kingdom of Macassar shall be secured solely to the Honorable Dutch Company, excluding therefrom every foreign European nation, and all Asiatic and other nations, be they Moors, Javanese, Malays, Achins, Siams or any others, without exception, and the said Honorable Company shall alone bring and import here for market or sale, any cloths, merchandize, or wares from Coromandel, Surat, Persia, Bengal and China." Any articles brought in contravention, to be confiscated to the profit of the Dutch, and the transgressors to be moreover punished. Common Javanese cloth is exempted.

8. "The Honorable Dutch Company is hereby acknowledged to be free from all import and export duties without exception."

9. The Macassars &c. "shall not hereafter navigate to any foreign ports, except to those of Bali, Java, Jacatra, Bantam, Jambi, Palembang, Johore and Bruni," and then they must first get a pass from the Dutch Commandant; any found at sea without such pass to be seized and their vessels confiscated. The Macassars to send no vessels to Bima, Solor and Timor, nor to the East Point of Lassem in Celebes, and several other prohibited places, "transgressors of this prohibition shall forfeit their lives and goods according to circumstances."

10. All native fortifications and strongholds to be demolished as "prejudicial to the Honorable Dutch Company"; one is left at Samboupo, for the king of Macassar, no new ones are to be built.

11. The large Port of Ujong Pandang to be made over to the Dutch, who will provide a garrison. The said fort and neighbourhood to be under the jurisdiction of the Dutch without right of interference from Macassar. "The merchants shall have to pay such duties as shall hereafter be agreed on between the said high power (Macassar) and the Honorable Company. The Honorable Dutch Company on their part agree not to admit, shelter or protect within their jurisdiction any person whatever being a malefactor or debtor, subject to the said great king or to the grantees of Macassar, unless such person has been emancipated and has

received permission to emigrate to the territory of the Honorable Dutch Company." The old lodge of the Dutch Company to be erected by the Macassars.

12. Dutch money to be current.

13. As indemnity for the violated peace, the Macassars to pay to the Company 1000 slaves.

14. The Macassars &c. not to meddle with the land of Bima.

15. The King of Bima and several Rajahs and others to be given up to the Company for punishment for murders &c, and the "Macassar Prince Careeng Montemarano to be given up for him to humble himself before the Honorable Dutch Company and beg their pardon for the offence he has committed against them."

16. Macassar to make restitution to Bouton for injuries done and to renounce further pretensions.

17. Restitution to be made and further authority of Macassar to be renounced in Xula and Salayer, Provinces on the East Coast of Celebes, from Minado down to and including Pantchiana, the Islands of Bongaay, Copy and all other provinces and islands of the said coast. Also the Provinces of Lambagy, Candipan, Buool, Tontoli, Dampellos, Belessang and Selensak.

18. Macassar to renounce authority over the Bugis and over the kingdom of Lobe, to liberate the aged King of Soping and to restore his lands, wives, family, property &c. and deliver him into the hands of the Dutch. All Bugis to be released.

19. Macassar to declare the Kings of Layo and Bencaba and the countries of Toratte and Badjeeng to be free, as having placed themselves under the protection of the Company.

20. All lands conquered during the war by the Company and their allies from Boolo Boolo to Toratte, and thence inwards to Bongaya, to remain in the possession of the Company or their allies, by the laws of war. Macassar to have no authority therein.

21. The countries of Waju, Boolo Boolo, and Mandhar having misbehaved towards the Company and their allies, are now to be left entirely in the hands of the Company, without aid in arms, men, or provisions from Macassar.

22. Such Bugis and Torattorese, as have Macassar wives, or Macassars who have Bugis or Torattorese wives, may if they wish to return home, take their wives with them.

23. Macassar promises and pledges strictly to observe the letter and spirit of foregoing article VI. to shut their dominions against all foreign Europeans and natives. In case any foreigners attempt to form a Settlement, Macassar to resist, and if force not sufficient, to apply to their "ally, protector and arbitrator" the Dutch Company.

24. "On all points of this treaty is provided an everlasting peace, friendship and alliance, in which are and must be comprehended the great and mighty Kings of Ternate, Tidore, Batchian, Bouton, and in this island of Celebes, the Kings of Boni, Soping, Lobo, Toratte, Layo and Badjeeng with all their dependant lands and subjects, also Bima and all such Lords and Princes, as after this treaty, may come into the alliance as confederates."

25. In case of any misunderstanding between the allies and respective kings the case to be referred for arbitration to the Dutch Residents, when if their award be not received the recusant to be declared a common enemy.

26. After this treaty is executed Macassar is to send two nobles of the King's Council, to Batavia to solicit the approbation of the Governor-General, "concerning which, the embassy may assure themselves that they will return home very much "satisfied." The Governor-General may require two sons of the most eminent noblemen to be sent to reside at Batavia.

27. In execution of article VI. the Dutch may seize and transport to Batavia any Englishmen, with their goods, found in the several countries under this treaty.

28. Also in execution of article XV. should the King of Bima and his accomplices and the Prince Montomaran, not be given up to the Dutch within ten days, dead or alive, the sons of both shall be put into the hands of the Dutch as a security.

29. Macassar to pay for the expences of the war 250,000 Rix dollars, within 5 years, either in money or goods.

30. To secure the religious observance of these articles they are sworn to, sealed and signed, after first invoking the Lord's holy name, this 18th November 1667, at "Barombong on the Dutch Company's own ground."

Such is the treaty regarded by a late Dutch writer as "an unperishable monument raised to the glory of the Dutch arms."

No Englishman will attempt to deny the glory of the Dutch arms. Their fleet in the succeeding year entered the Thames, and in the face of Europe insulted the English nation. But on the other hand no unprejudiced person can read this treaty without being impressed with the feeling that it is a disgrace to the civilized nation which gave it sanction. In 30 articles nearly all of which contain extensive stipulations in favor of the stronger party, not one single article has the slightest appearance or even pretence of reciprocity nor is one stipulation made in favour of the native power, if we except article XI, which appears to concede to the King of Macassar, and that in his own territory, such duties as the Dutch Company may hereafter agree: and further the Company, under certain restrictions, agree not to shelter any debtors or malefactors of Macassar. Such a treaty as this could not now be upheld for an instant among civilized nations, and it can be considered in no other light than as a remarkable proof of the disgrace reflected on European nations, through the unchecked rapacity and misconduct of certain of their subjects in these countries. As an isolated instance there may be found justifications for the Dutch in thus punishing the Macassars after a long and cruel war, but the treaty is not solitary. It is only one case of many hundreds, forced on the chiefs of the Archipelago, at various times, and under various circumstances, as may readily be seen by a reference to the abstract of the Dutch Treaties with native powers, published in a former volume of this Journal. After reading one of these, so called, treaties, the European and American merchant of the present day, can be at no loss to discover the reasons which have excluded them from a participation in the benefits which ought to be derivable from an unrestricted intercourse with countries possessing such inexhaustible resources. The Islands of the Archipelago, under the past system, may perhaps have been temporarily exhausted, and it may require years, indeed ages, of the improved commercial principles now in force, before they can again occupy that relative position in the scale of nations, which they enjoyed at the commencement of the 16th century, and which they are now entitled to enjoy. Had these countries profited, to the same extent as other divisions of the globe, by a course of 350 years of uninterrupted commerce, there can be little doubt that

they would now, instead of being the scene of misery, and piratical cruelty unexampled in any other quarter of the Globe, be the locality of innumerable thriving marts of commerce, and of agricultural production, which, by their interchange with Europe and America, would be an honor to the civilizing influences of Commerce, and to all those who have been connected with them; and not a record of disgrace to those civilized countries which permitted their subjects to exercise such a fatal influence.

One of the chief causes of the universal destruction which attended the intercourse of Europeans with the several native established kingdoms, was the overthrow of all constituted authority which invariably followed, throughout the neighbouring territory. The Europeans satisfied themselves with the acquisition of sufficient authority to procure commodities. They were at no pains to supply the want of that regulated authority which their presence disturbed and which is necessary to the existence of nations. Universal anarchy prevailed. Yet, as if to mark the vitality of the trading principle in the Archipelago, and the ability of the Europeans to conduct a regular Government, where it suited their purposes, we need only point to the cases of Malacca, Manila and Batavia. To these Ports, native trade was attracted during, and long after, the time when the original native Ports flourished.

ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY FROM MOCO-MOCO TO PENGKALAN
JAMBI, THROUGH KORINCHI, IN 1818.

By THOMAS BARNES.*

September 15. Left Moco-moco situated in Lat. $2^{\circ} 35'$ S. and Long. by obs. of the sun and moon $101^{\circ} 21' 30''$ E. and at 8 A.M. embarked on the Seluggan river in sampans and proceeded in an easterly direction.—Frequent squalls and a strong current,—the country level and cleared for the cultivation of rice, excepting the old ladungs, on which jungle had grown:—3 P. M. landed at Sungy Ranghi and sent on the boats;—thence we passed through several pepper plantations and came to Tray Turunjum, where there is a balei, at which we stopped at about 4 o'clock. Here the river is very shallow and rapid—the sampans did not come up till dark. The Bugis who were sent by Ayer Dikit with the baggage also joined us. Course E. to E. N. E. about 12 miles. Thermometer 6 A. M. 74.

September 16. Sent part of the Bugis on by water against a rapid stream. Set out about 10 A. M. forded the Seluggan. Our tract over ground rather hilly and woody but which had been formerly cleared—passed Lubu Bringin and Lubu Soung on the right—at noon halted some time for the party behind and 2 P. M. passed Sungy How and about 40 minutes after came to the remains of an embankment at Sungy Gading, formerly made to oppose the invasions of predatory chieftains, and at that time there was a large dusun here of which not a vestige is to be seen. Forded Sungy Gading, passed Kapyan town and at 3 halted at Rantau Rieng, the last dusun in the Anak Sungy country:—during the latter part of this march we passed many old pepper gardens and were shown spots that formerly were occupied by dusuns. This part of the country produces no pepper and the inhabitants support themselves by cultivating rice, jagung, &c. and by manufacturing gambier. Course E. to N. E. estimated E. N. E. about 10 miles—morning fair—afternoon rain.

September 19. Set out at 10—passed through land cleared for ladangs; afterwards found it woody and rather hilly, it had been

* Reprinted from the *Bencoolen Miscellany*.

cleared in former years,—many tracts of elephants recently made ; —crossed Ayer Turun and Sungy Barow and halted at Lubu Anau on the banks of the Seluggan at about 3. Here the Sultan had ordered temporary sheds for our reception ;—course E. to N. E. estimated E. N. E. about 10 miles ; much rain throughout the day ;—the road very bad ;—greatly annoyed by the leeches ;—at night the elephants made much noise by which they appeared to be very near us ; fired a few muskets to drive them a different route.—Ther. in the morning as low as 72.

Sept. 20. Set out at 8 A. M.—crossed Sungy Pattye ;—ground rather hilly and woody,—soon after entered a plain covered with lalang ;—passed Lubu Mandong and at the further end of the plain observed the remains of old entrenchments. Formerly there was a large dusun but not a hut now remains. Arrived on the banks of the river Seluggan again about 9 ; where it divides into two branches, N. E. and S. E. the former is called the little Seluggan and comes in the direction of the Korinchi country, and the latter the larger Seluggan in a direction from the Serampi country. Forded the confluence and passed between these rivers for about half an hour when we entered a plain on the northern side that contained a house and shed for manufacturing Gambier.* Here we had a small view of high land about E. N. E. said to be on the side of Gunung Pyong ;—at 11 A. M. crossed the little Seluggan and Ayer Madan, and at 1 P. M. came to Benteng Batu, the remains of an old stone embankment made by the Korinchi people, close to this place ; on the banks of the little Seluggan we erected our barongs or temporary huts for the night—after entering the gambier plain our course was very irregular from N. E. to N. westerly. I consider the course for the day may be taken as E. N. E. northerly 8 or 10 miles.—Our situation was now near the foot of the larger hills or mountains to which the western part of the country is comparatively level, and I consider Moco-

* The process was not going on at this time but it is prepared in the following manner ; the leaves are boiled and bruised in a wooden mortar (Lesong) from which they are put into a kind of a basket of rattan open work, which is pressed by a long piece of wood acting as a lever, the liquid is received into a trough and there allowed to settle. When the sediment has acquired sufficient substance it is put into a kulit kayo, formed like a tub without a bottom, which lets the superfluous water drain off and when that is done it is taken out, formed into small cakes and dried for use.

moco to be in a W. S. W. direction distant 35 to 40 miles. Ther. 6 A. M. 69° rain during the night.

September 21. Set out at about 8 A. M. and ascended Gunung Madan in a northerly direction—remarkably steep, attained the upper part about 10; there are three summits whence it has the name of Gunung Madan tiga Poncha; here we obtained a limited view of the sea bearing S. W. about 15 leagues—passed a spot called Chanding pata and came to Pradong kayu lulus at 1 P. M. The latter is the eminence on the northern part of Gunung Madan and is called after a remarkable tree said to be used for procuring abortion; some of the natives called it kayu Subur lulus,—our track over Gunung Madan to this place may be taken as due north. The road was mostly along the ridge with occasional declivities, varying at times from N. N. E. to N. N. W. through a thick wood. From Pradong lulus we descended till about 3 to Sungy Riang, a considerable river, but very shallow and rapid, which close to this place joins the Monjuta. The course this day was about north or varying to N. by E. 12 miles in an horizontal direction. Ther. 6 A. M. 68.

September 22. Forded Sungy Riang and ascended Gunung Anau, very steep at the commencement and difficult to climb up,—as we proceeded the Monjuta river was heard running on the left hand, and Sungy Riang on the right,—hard rain at this time—halted and erected our huts for the night at Ayer Ubar. Our road over high land through a thick forest:—course N. N. E. to N. up hill about 6 miles. Ther. 6 A.M. 65, 1 P. M. 75.

September 23. Set out E. N. E. ascending Gunung Tunju Laut, and from the summit the sea was pointed out S. S. W. to W. S. W. but was very indistinct, owing to the mist. Gunung Kunyet north 5 or 6 miles, from whence some of the Korinchi people procure sulphur. Gunung Berakar S. S. E. 4 or 5 miles, in which direction is said to be a route to Serampi. Moco-moco was pointed out as lying W. S. W. but could not discern it. Proceeding on we came to a Benzoin tree, on an elevated part of the hill, the only one of the kind we met with. Saw several large Maranti trees; one measured 22 feet in circumference 10 feet from the ground. Roads very bad, up and down declivities; halted in the midst of heavy rain at Prakey Renda after about 5

hours' walking:—course E.N. E. 8 miles. People cold, wet and sickly and scarcely able to erect our temporary huts. Ther. 6 A. M. 62, noon 68.

September 24. Set out at 7 A. M. and reached Gunung Buah in about an hour—passed over Prakey Tenghi, ascended Gunung Malintang and attained the apex at 10 A. M. considered the highest land in this route to Korinchi;—we descended till noon when we arrived at the Monjuta river, running from between the mountains. From Sungy Riang the road is mostly along the ridge of a range of mountains in which there are many declivities, and the hills called Tunju Laut and Malintang are the most elevated points. The whole way is through an immense forest, so thick as to preclude a view of the neighbouring hills. From Prakey Renda it is about E. N. E. 8 or 10 miles and E. N. E. may be considered the bearing from Sungy Riang distance about 24 miles. Forded the Monjuta river, the current very rapid, proceeded through jungle N. E. varying. Soon after leaving Monjuta we came to a stream called the Lumpur river running in a N. N. E. direction, which is the first water we met with that incorporates with the large rivers which disembogue on the eastern side of this island. In about two hours we passed Barang Batang which receives its name from the great quantity of very large bamboos (Bulu Batang) growing in its vicinity, many measuring full two feet in circumference. Again forded the Lumpur river and about 3 P. M. entered a valley in Korinchi cultivated with jagung (maize) which to us afforded a pleasing view after being so long in the woods. The road from the Monjuta river was extremely muddy and heavy rain made it very fatiguing; it was also rather hilly but level in comparison to what we passed in the forenoon. Proceeded through the plain,—hills on each side; again crossed the river and after passing through many ladangs of jagung arrived at Lumpur at 4 P. M. much fatigued. This plain lies nearly north and south and the course from noon was about N. N. E. 10 miles. Lumpur is situated on the side of the river of the same name within a high embankment thickly planted with living bamboos and surrounded with a deep ditch. It contains about 16 houses well built with planks, elevated on posts about 8 feet above the ground and covered with thin boards or shingles.

The plantation houses are much higher and built with the large bamboos which grow here in great plenty. They are covered with flat roofs of the same material split in two and the concave part laid alternately up and down. I was informed that they first plant the jagung and afterwards a crop of padi for three successive years on the same land. The potatoe formerly introduced grew plentifully but seemed of late to have been neglected; a few very small ones were procured and it was said they grew in no other part of the country. Our next stage was to Pulo Sanka pointed out in a N. E. direction.

September 27. Set out and passed over hilly ground cleared for ladangs; course E. S. E. the first hour, passed a lake called Danau Kechil, afterwards E. to E. N. E. about 1 hour over hilly country. Came to a stream called Ayer Murang said to be the boundary between Lumpur and Lumpoung, and from thence we ascended a hill for nearly three quarters of an hour, and at the top entered a space cleared for ladang, where we halted and put up for the night. Estimated course E. by N. about 8 miles. Ther. A. M. 66

September 28. Set out N. to N. W. shortly after saw Gunung Bakun S. 6 or 7 miles, Gunung Batuah S. W. by S. 8 or 10 miles, Gunung Tankul S. W. by W. 10 or 12 miles;—passed the bones of an elephant recently killed. 1st hour's journey through cleared ground, 2d and 3d through the jungle and woody country; came to a stream called Ranghi, whence we ascended hilly land about a quarter of an hour, and entered a large plain covered with lalang called Padang Terjun; course north with little variation;—Gunung Api W. by N.—high land said to be near Indrapore, N. W. by W.—Gunung Tunju Laut a boundary between Indrapore and Korinchi W. N. by W.—Gunung Ryah W. by S.—Gunung Sarka, N. Having passed through the plain for about an hour, came to sawahs in the neighbourhood of Pulo Sanka. Crossed the Sungy Linkat twice and arrived at the dusun Pulo Sanka on the banks of Marangin river; Sungy Linkat is joined by the Lumpur river and after dividing at this dusun, whereby it forms an island, runs into the Marangin river; the latter has its source in the lake and is one of the larger branches of the Jambi river. The latter part of the day the course varied easterly and I take

this to be about 2 miles north of Lumpoung. Pulo Sanka is stated to be the first place in Korinchi that was inhabited by the natives of Menangkabau, thence they have spread over the country forming a vast number of independent dusuns under the government of their respective Dupaties. Korinchi is said to be under the jurisdiction of Jambi but the Sultan receives no revenue from it. A Pangeran or one of the principal men from Jambi occasionally levies a kind of tribute from the interior dusuns, which he appropriates to his own use. Lumpur and Pulo Sanka are said to be exceptions from this demand.

Sept. 30. Set out at A. M. for Timihi from whence we were to ascend the mountains; crossed the Marangin river in sampans and ascended Gunung Malingan, Gunung Berapi W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.—Tanju Laut W. by S.—Gunung Byah W. S. W.—Gunung Bakong south—Gunung Bertoah S. S. W. and Gunung Sambong S. by E. clouds intercepted our view of the principal hills, and the bearings were taken from positions pointed out by the natives. Lumpur was said to be in a S.W. direction. Our road up hill E. to E.N.E. through-out woody country; at 1 came to a place where it is related that many years ago people from Palembang fought with the Korinchi people, and the former were defeated with great loss of blood from which it derives the name of Telagu Darah: 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ passed Sungy Tubby and shortly after Sungy Druang, the latter separates Pulo Sanka from Timihi; at 2 crossed Sungy Timihi and halted at the dusun:—course E. N. E. 6 or 7 miles:—Ther. P. M. 27. The ground was much cleared about this place and planted with the sweet potatoe, sugar cane and plantain. This dusun although in the Korinchi country is considered to belong to Pengkalan Jambi; the principal persons have either houses here or in the neighbourhood but as they generally reside at Pengkalan Jambi the dusun is much neglected; whenever they meet in the Korinchi country either with hostile or pacific intentions they make Timihi the rendezvous. Korinchi is represented as an extensive plain to the west, containing numerous dusuns of which Rouang is the most considerable and is said to consist of a thousand houses of great length. Our track was confined to part of the south-eastern boundary where the country is hilly and in some places intersected with smaller plains. We have seen comparatively but few of

the inhabitants and cannot form an opinion of the extent of population, which however is stated to be extremely great. The trade to the western coast consists in a little cassia, sulphur, earthen pots, twine and an inferior kind of cloths, and in return they import blue and white cloths, iron, raw cotton, salt, &c. Opium is not used by them and if occasionally purchased it is intended for resale elsewhere: On the eastern side they dispose of earthen pots, a few parangs and occasionally rice when in demand, and bring back raw cotton from Sungy Tabir and Tana Rana, which they manufacture into cloths. The men usually wear a baju of blue cloth with loose drawers of the same, a data on the head and a handkerchief tied round the waist, and invariably a kris, sewah, or some weapon of a similar description. It is by no means uncommon to see some of the higher class with an old chintz gown, open in front, and reaching to the ankles, and a clout. The women are dressed mostly as the men, in a blue baju but longer at the sleeves, with buttons at the wrist, with a wrapper and a piece of blue cloth and a salendang, also a data or a piece of blue cloth folded up and fastened on the head like a turban with the ends abruptly sticking out on each side with small ornaments or fringe attached. They have great numbers of rings on their fingers and rings or krabocs in their ears, the latter are the distinguishing mark of the gadises or virgins. We have not seen any bimbangs or amusements at which possibly they may be dressed in a superior style. The cocoanut tree planted about the villages, grows to a considerable height, but is not so productive as those on the coast. It is said that the nut yields no oil. The kulah measure of rice we found to contain about one-third only of a Bencoolen kulah.

October 12. Crossed the river and proceeded over hilly ground and padi fields in an E. N. E. direction, and in about two hours halted at Barong Sinda close to a run of water called Sikihow, distance estimated E. N. E. three miles—the road very bad and much rain—at this place we had scarcely room to erect our huts, but all persuasion to go further was in vain, as it was represented we could not reach another place where water could be procured before dark.

Oct. 13. At 9 set out, and ascended Gunung Kanuntang, and reached the summit at 10. Bukit Barong which it was said we

should cross the day following, bore E. N. E.—descended till half past 12 and came to the river Emat. Course E. to E.N.E. crossed the Emat, and arrived at Barong Pulo a little before 2 P. M. close to which the river runs. Course during the latter part varying E. to S. E. and estimated for this day E. by N. ten miles. The road very bad all the way and in some places the mud so deep as to render it almost impassable through woods in which grew a great number of bamboos. Gunung Kanuntang is very small at the apex; halted and erected our huts for the night. Ther. 6 A. M. 67, at noon 76.

October 14. At 8 A. M. set out and walked about an hour in the course of the river Emat, varying S. to S. E. crossed it three times, the track otherwise through jungle and wood; came to a run of water at the foot of Bukit Barong at 11 from whence we reached the summit at noon; remarkably steep, the latter part literally climbing up. Course from the river Emat E. N. E. to N. E. halted a short time and again proceeded till 2 N. E. to N. mostly northerly; first part the road tolerably level and good, the latter part very bad, and arrived at Sungy Serumpa. Previous to reaching this place passed a hill on the right of large stone or rock, called Nalhaw said to contain a cavity at which travellers occasionally put up for the night; crossed the river Serumpa and after going over, saw several small hills E. to E. N. E. nearly up to our knees in mud; arrived at Barong Lumpow at about 3. Journey this day estimated N. E. twelve miles through woods and jungle:—ther. at the top of Bukit Barong noon 75, at Lumpow 6 P. M. 77, 6 A. M. 71. Cold and hungry passed the night, myself unwell. Ther. noon 75, 6 A. M. 70.

October 16. From Korinchi to this place there appears to be two ranges of mountains;—8 A. M. continued our journey over several hills N. E. to N. till 9 when a road branched off to the left which was said to lead to Panatti and the right to Tambang Chuchi; proceeded by the latter, this place was called Bukit Mujah or Simpang Jalan. One hour E. to S. E. came to Pradong Permuttang and at 11 reached the summit of Gunung Lumut whence we had a view of Gunung Mundi Oorye N. by W. Pengkalan Jambi pointed out in a N. E. direction; descended easterly till 1, when we came to a small canal of water cut for

the use of the gold-searchers and which was continued along the side of a hill and thence conducted to the mines. Our road was by Penatti, and as there was some objection to our passing the mines, it was intended to pursue a different route, but after some consideration, it was observed that the river Penatti was then too deep to ford which induced our guide to lead us by Tambang Chuchi. The mines however were situated in a hollow and too far off for particular observation. The soil a bright yellow clay interspersed with red, in which were many stones of white crystal. In the valley were a number of small pits that appeared to have been newly dug and which received the water that runs from the canal, and also contained three houses occupied by the miners. Having left Tambang Chuchi we passed over hilly ground and thence descended a considerable way, in many places almost perpendicular, till we entered a ladang called Penatti at 3,—course estimated E. N. E. 13 miles. Saw much petrified wood in the vicinity, especially on the side of the hill that led to this ladang;—this place is at the side of the river of the same name which now runs extremely rapid and is much discoloured by the clay washed from the mines; on its banks are a great number of those white stones before described which are only to be found in the vicinity of the precious metal; the natives call them Batu Blaney; this river is about 70 or 80 yards wide. In our journey from Korinchi we met with 50 or 60 men carrying cotton. Ther. 6 P. M. 76, 6 A. M. 73. Gunung Mundy Oorye has a very remarkable appearance. The natives consider it to be inaccessible and suppose it contains a very large quantity of gold in massive pieces; they have also an idea that it is guarded by numerous serpents of immense size and relate many fabulous tales about it. Beneath the hill, which rises in the form of a chimney, is a bed of white stone, and with the assistance of a spy-glass we observed a stream of water running down, which is said to be the source of the river Sumy which takes its course through Pengkalan Jambi.

October 17. Crossed Sungy Penatti and in about 2 hours reached the summit of Gunung Murow the last high land to ascend on this side of Pengkalan Jambi, and arrived at Bukit Sungy Bandang about noon:—course N. E. 6 miles. Pengkalan Jambi

was pointed out in an E. N. E. direction. Ther. 6 A. M. 69, noon 78.

October 19. Left Gunung Sungi Bundang at 10 A. M. and in about an hour came to a run of water called Ayer Ban, through which we walked upwards of an hour about knee deep, many stones of white chrystal (Batu Blany) and pieces of petrified wood. After leaving this run of water our road lay over hilly ground with occasional declivities till 1 P. M. we arrived at a halting place on Bukit Kamuru whence we descended many steep places—passed many old mines or pits that had been searched for gold—towards the lower part of the hill they were so close to the path-way and so covered with underwood that it required some caution to avoid falling into them. At 3 entered the plain Pengkalan Jambi and came to the river Sumye running to the eastward. At about 4 walked on through the plain, hills on each side and cultivated with rice to the very foot of them, affording a beautiful prospect. The country, when required, is irrigated from the river by means of wheels kept in motion by the stream and which furnish an ample supply of water. At 5 we forded the river and came to the house at which we put up. Course this day about E. N. E. 12 miles;—the plain lies nearly east and west.

Pengkalan Jambi and the neighbouring districts are merely nominally under the jurisdiction of the Sultan of Jambi; they pay no tribute and his authority is acknowledged only so far as meets convenience. Whoever possesses property with arms to defend it considers himself an independent chieftain whose principal resources consist in the search of gold in the surrounding hills. The population that we have seen is very small, but it is described otherwise,—it is said that many are employed in the gold mines and others in the hills which we have not seen. From various information it seems this place has not been settled more than 40 or 50 years. Previous to the late Tuanku Muda's settling here, there were but few inhabitants and those mostly men, and the number was increased by his followers and the families he carried off from the Anak Sungy country. The first cocoanut trees planted here were said to be by this Pamanka and they are still existing. In the hills in the vicinity are numerous gold mines which appear to have originally drawn the attention of the natives to this part of the

country. The hills were searched for gold long before the plains were inhabited, and it may be conjectured with much probability, that it was from hence the Korinchi people obtained gold, as it is said to have been first peopled from Timihi, and I cannot learn after many enquiries that gold has ever been found in the Korinchi country. Pondok Hamuru, Pondok Gandang, Pondok Arrow, and Pondok Panjang were originally established on the plain to the westward, to supply small articles to the gold-searchers. To the eastward are dusun Lubu Gullum, Sungy Nulan, Sungy Lumpu, Muara Punchu, Barru and Pengantang towards Nibung and Salamuka whence the river is navigable to Jambi. The soil from which the gold is collected is a bright yellow clay occasionally mixed with red, and the metal is found near a stratum of white crystalline stones called by the natives Batu Blany, and frequently intermixed with them but never below. When they search for the gold they dig pits into which they lead a stream of water that carries off the clay and the residue is afterwards carefully washed, dried and searched. In some instances they follow the strata of white stones a few feet under ground, which they call needles, *jarom*, and into these water is conveyed as before described. The principal people of the country possess certain divisions of the hills that contain the gold which is respected as a private property. It seldom occurs that the metal found is insufficient to pay the expense of searching—those who hire people to work the mines advance them provisions and whatever may be necessary, and after the proprietor has deducted the amount, the remaining metal is divided among them in equal proportions. I have not been able to learn that any precious stones are met with or that they search for them; gold is all they look after, and it is the general topic of conversation from morning to night. It is the only circulating medium in payment for the most trifling article, and the scales are in constant use. A great number of poor men from the dusuns interior of Korinchi come here to procure cotton, which is cultivated at Sungy Tabur and Tana Rama: many bring earthen pots and a few parangs of which they dispose and return with a burthen of about 70 or 80 pounds weight valued at about five dollars. Those who have not the means of purchasing a load, hire themselves out for planting and reaping the crop of padi till they earn sufficient; others are

employed in the mines, and some in furnishing boards and attaps for building the houses, which tends to confirm the opinion, that the native part of the population cannot be numerous. It is represented however to be much greater down the river. Many indigent persons also come from Menangkabau and are employed in searching gold, and when they have obtained the means they proceed to the western side of the island to purchase a little opium or a few piece goods with which they return to their country by Padang. This road is said to be so infested with robbers that they would not venture to travel through it with property.

The houses are mostly built of plank, from 10 to 60 feet in length, and elevated on posts about eight feet from the ground. A few are floored with planks and the others with split nibungs. The roofs are of various materials, some have shingles or small boards laid on like slates, some are ataped with puah, and others thatched with iju or lalang; they are partitioned lengthways through the middle, and the back part is divided into two, three or more apartments with small doors towards the front which is left as a kind of long veranda or hall with a space reserved at one end for a cook-room. The inner apartments are for the convenience of the married part of the family, who mostly live under the same roof, and the front serves for the accommodation of visitors and the unmarried men to sleep in. The wind is greatly kept out by the surrounding hills and the houses are thickly planted round with trees that prevent a free circulation of air which with the stagnant water in the plain must render the place unhealthy.

The trade of Pengkalan Jambi, Nibung, Battang Assye, and Limun is the same, and the chief article is opium purchased from the western coast: they also import thence some piece goods, mostly blue cloths. From Jambi on the eastern side they procure salt, iron, tin, silks, and piece goods. Their payments are in gold from the neighbouring hills. Cotton, the produce of Nibung and Tana Rana, is the only article of export, and that is wholly purchased up and carried away by the Korinchi people. They have no manufacture of cloths, and make only an inferior kind of gunpowder chiefly for their own use valued at about thirteen kulahs per $\frac{1}{4}$ thial gold. The general dress of both sexes is blue cloth much the same as we observed in Korinchi. The women

wear also a data or piece of blue cloth on the head, but have not so many rings about them; the higher class wore large galangs or bracelets made of gold or silver, and on festivals are said to be decorated with silks which we had no opportunity of seeing.

To this report is attached a Sketch Map of the journey, including a visit to the large lake in Korinchi which I trust will exhibit a more correct representation than has hitherto been given of that country. It will also be seen that the relative situation of Pengkalan Jambi from Korinchi is very different from that laid down in our present maps. Had we been able to prosecute the journey without interruption, we could have reached Nibung in three days and Salamuka in another, whence we could have obtained a kind of flat bottomed vessel called belakang which it is said would have conveyed us to Jambi in about six days. The road from Pengkalan Jambi to Batang Assye is reckoned six days journey; from Batang Assye to Limun two days, and from Limun to Rawas two days. The latter is under the government of Palembang with which it has communication by water; from Pengkalan Jambi to Rawas the road is said to be over hard ground and not very hilly but rather level, and a good military road might be made, should it be deemed requisite, from Limun on the river of the same name to the southward. Dusun Tanjung to the northward and situated on the Batang Hari or Jambi river, is considered under the government of Jambi which includes nine of the larger branches called the Punga Jambi Sambilan Lura, viz. the rivers Limun, Batang Assye, Tambissu, Marangin, Sungy Tobu, Senamat, Bungah, Tobo and Junijun, into which many others run. The Batang Hari is said to have its source in Menangkabau, and from Samalidu to the westward is under that authority. To proceed up the river from Jambi to Nibung would take about sixteen days, but the natives reckoned it to be a month, which is making allowances for stopping at dusuns to trade.

From Ujung Jabong at the entrance there is said to be hard ground through which a good military road might be made to Palembang, but the interior is described as a low swampy country in every direction, and wholly impassable to human beings except by water as far as up Muara Sumye.

SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS OF THE CHINESE.

[THIS paper is copied from the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, published at Malacca in 1820-21. It is contributed by a Correspondent, signing himself P. P. T., who gives the following account of its origin:

“A small work, intended as a canon for the use of the Chinese, who embrace the Romish religion, having fallen into my hands, and which records many of the customs of the Chinese, I have made a few extracts from it, and added a few notes to illustrate the usages of that people.

“The little work, which is in manuscript, contains about three hundred and eighty violations of the Christian moral law. It is, evidently, the production of some Chinese who had been instructed in the Romish religion.

“I have given a literal translation of the text. The notes are from personal knowledge, or information obtained from good authority.”]

“The first Christian commandment requires, that you honor the Lord God, above all things. This commandment also embraces the three cardinal virtues, faith, hope, and love. Those who violate them—SIN.”

“On being diseased, or in distress; or having lost any article; or your mind impressed with an affair, you are not to inquire respecting either of the foregoing by divination: those who do so—SIN.”

Divination, by means of drawing lots, choosing slips of wood, with characters written on them; by birds;* by means of

* The writer, since writing these sheets, saw a person divining by means of birds. They were Java sparrows. The cage which contained eight birds, was divided into three cells, with a little door to each: and set on a table where there were about sixty cards placed on their edges. The person who applied, was inquiring respecting sickness. On his drawing a slip of bambu, from a cylinder (which contained about a dozen) the diviner opened one of the doors of the cage. A bird instantly came out, and drew out with its bill, one of the cards; on obtaining a single grain of paddy for its trouble, it entered the cage of its own accord. On opening the card, the diviner drew out two slips of paper; the first of which informed the inquirer that he would recover from his disease; the other, was a print of a doctor feeling the pulse of his patient, and pointing out his disease. The diviner to assure the inquirer of the certainty of recovering, replaced the papers, and put two of the six cash, (which was the amount of his fee,) into the card; after shuffling the cards again and again, he opened the door of another cell of the cage, when another bird came out and drew out the same card,

the tortoise and Pa-qua, are constantly referred to by the Chinese, on trivial as well as on important occasions. Divination is probably carried to as great if not greater extent in China, than known in any other country; it is no unusual occurrence to see even at Macao, eight or ten of these persons, sitting publicly in the market, busily employed in diving into futurity and unfolding the fates of the simple inquirers, whether respecting the acquisition of wealth—fame—long life—a flourishing family—or the cure of disease, &c. &c., but in Canton, and other parts of China, the number of these impostors is immense.

“Those who select a propitious day for commencing their various concerns—SIN.”

The Chinese insert annually in their almanacks, the number of lucky days that occur in the year, and what may be done on those particular days is specified, such as burials, weddings, entering into public office, &c. For the year 1819, they had 150 lucky days!

“Those who wear amulets about their neck, hands, or feet, or amulets suspended from their ears, or charms on their garments, or representations of Show-sing-kung, or of the eight immortals, or suspend to their tails a twig of the yew tree—SIN.”

The caps of respectable children, have generally one or three characters worked on them, which imply Show-sing-kung; these, as well as the two characters “eight immortals,” are to confer on the wearer, prosperity and longevity. The twig of the yew is worn by children at the Ming tsée festival (in spring) after repairing and sacrificing at the tombs of their ancestors.

“Those who divine by means of the tortoise—SIN.”

Divination by means of the tortoise is held in very high esteem by the Chinese, as the tortoise is supposed to contain on its back, the signs of the twenty-eight constellations, and to possess divine knowledge.

out of which the money was shook. The bird, as before, on receiving a single grain returned to its cell of its own accord. On waiting a short time, the writer saw another person put down his six cash, when he drew a slip of bambu that portended the acquisition of wealth. The bird, as before, drew a card, which also indicated the acquisition of wealth. The card was replaced with two cash in it, and a bird from a different cell selected the same card. As this caused a little diversion among the lookers on, the fortune teller, to shew the “omniscience of his bird” (as he called it) put only a single cash in the card, and permitted the inquirer to shuffle the cards himself which he did. To prevent the bird from seeing where the card was placed, a board was put before the cage, on removing

“Those who paste up charms in the streets, or hang up in their houses, rolls containing extracts from heathen authors, whether in prose or verse—SIN.”

The pasting up of charms in the streets, seems to have existed so early as the third century, during the troubles of the three contending states, when one Chang keō pasted up charms to stop the spread of a contagion which then existed. It is now adhered to by the priests of Fūh and Taou. The charm consists of two or more characters run together, but are not to be decyphered; if they are, the import is lost. The almanack contains a charm for every year in the cycle, (viz. 60,) which are annually pasted as preventatives against pestilence; as well as twelve charms for the cure of various diseases, there described. The Tuy-tsze, or rolls, are hung up in Chinese houses for ornament, similar to pictures and prints in Europe: they generally contain elegant sentences, and often afford a specimen of good writing. Why the Romish Church considered them sinful, does not appear, perhaps they thought by so doing, their converts were adopting the customs of the heathen. “Those who expose for sale, gilt paper for offerings to the gods, with various paper offerings—SIN.”

The burning of paper (for a religious purpose) whether gilt or plain of whatever shape, appears to have been adopted immediately after the abolition of human sacrifices on the death of Chehwang-te, (who died about 150 years before Christ) when he caused his domestics to be put to death, and interred with him, to attend on him in a future state. At present the consumption of paper, which is annually used on all religious occasions is very considerable and forms an extensive branch of trade to the Chinese. The more usual offering is a piece of paper, about a foot long and eight inches broad, in the shape of the front of a bonnet, with a small piece of gold foil on its back; besides which they have representations of men and women, with various dresses, with houses, servants, boats, boat-men, &c. which are burnt and passed into the invisible state for the use of the deceased. An accurate statement of the number of persons employed in making of paper for the various offerings, with those employed in making

the board, the bird came out, and to the astonishment of all, the same card was chosen again.

of fire works and disposing of them, would form an interesting document.

“Those who burn gilt paper for other persons, or the various paper offerings—*SIN*.”

Many well disposed persons in China, allow the priests a certain sum monthly to offer up prayers and burn the paper offerings for them ; and wealthy people often employ men for the sole purpose of offering incense, burning paper offerings, and letting off fire-works on their festivals.

“Those who run races in the dragon boat, or those who go to see plays on the religious festivals of the Heathen—*SIN*.”*

The above festival† is observed during the fifth moon, in honor of Keuh-yuen, a virtuous statesman, who drowned himself during the Dynasty Chow, (about 2,300 years since,) to avoid the displeasure of his sovereign. As soon as the people heard of his death, the boatmen flew in every direction in search of his corpse. On this festival there is offered to the dragon (the god of the rivers,) rice, &c. morning and evening. The boats used, on this occasion, are very long, and some pull from eight to one hundred oars. It is an holiday at the public offices ; and the festival is kept on all the rivers of the empire. After the races, the boats (on account of their length) are buried in the mud, where they remain till the following year. This festival is principally kept up by the different public officers, who frequently stake considerable sums on their boats.—The plays in China are mostly performed on religious occasions, either in honor of their gods, or the anniversary of their temples, as well as on their annual festivals. Before they commence their plays, the musicians go to the temples, where they play one or more tunes when they bring away with them a small altar, with incense burning, and place it on the stage, which is a temporary building of bamboo ; where they again play a few tunes : this is done to invoke their gods to be present during their plays. These plays are generally performed in front of their temples. Once a year plays are performed in the market, when, as before mentioned, they bring their gods from the temples with

* It may be necessary to remind the reader, that these extracts are taken from a Roman Catholic Chinese publication ; and the notes and illustrations added by the author of the communication.—ED.

† Viz. of the dragon boat.

music. This is highly esteemed by the Chinese, as the gods are supposed to preside over the affairs of the market, and to cause equity and justice in men's dealings. After any calamity, as fire, &c. it is usual for the people in the neighbourhood to raise a sum for the performance of a set of plays, which is done as a mark of gratitude for the late mercies they have experienced. On other occasions, the tradesmen of the different callings, by turns, go from door to door to collect the yearly subscriptions, and decide, and not the priests, on the numbers of plays to be performed at each festival; as well as when the temples shall be repaired or ornamented. The duty of the priests is merely to attend to reading prayers, &c. and not to secular concerns. They profess to be superior men, having renounced the world and all prospects of gain—and taken to a life of abstinence. Their appearance, however often indicates, that they are any thing but superior men! being indolent and filthy in the extreme.

A set of plays are held for three or five successive days, during which they perform twice every day. They generally commence about two o'clock and continue till about five. In the evening, at seven, they again commence, when they continue till about eleven. The third rate players, which generally perform at Macao, are allowed one hundred dollars per day, exclusive of food, oil for lamps, &c. A company of players consist of from forty to fifty men. Country players and boys, whose principle performance consists in feats of agility, perform for only forty or fifty dollars per day. The first rate performers do not perform for less than one hundred and fifty dollars per day, exclusive of all expenses. There is an office at Canton for registering the different companies; and every company, on leaving the city, gives in a notice, intimating to what part they are going, by which means letters on business, from any part of the province, are immediately attended to.

A list of the number of plays performed annually at Macao, will enable the reader to form some idea of the extent of theatrical performances in a province, or throughout the empire.

At the military, (or water-lily temple*) during the 3rd,

* The Chinese imagine that Macao resembles the leaf of the Water-lily, and the isthmus, which connects Macao with the interior country, the stem; hence

5th and 7th moon, twenty-two plays are performed, which amount (independent of the expenses of fitting up the theatres) to.....Spanish Dollars. 2200

Temple to the god of fire—(lately opened,) six days.... 600

Ma-kō temple, (or the lady of the celestial chambers) during the 3rd moon, eighteen or more plays, according to the number of European ships that arrive in the inner harbour of Macao. These plays are said to be defrayed by the Linguists..... 2000

T'oo temple, (to the gods of the land) during the 2nd moon, seven days..... 350

Temple for the universal redemption of orphan spirits, during the 11th moon, five days..... 500

At the Hoppo office, (in the market place) on the 2nd of the 2nd moon. On these occasions the government regulation is only twelve dollars per day for the whole company; which is allowed by the Mandarins. The managers frequently receive considerable presents. This national play is observed at all the public offices, on the same day, throughout the empire, four days..... 100

A-hwang-keae, seven days..... 300

Amounting (exclusive of the expenses of fitting up and preparing the stages) to.....Spanish Dollars. 6050

“Those who foolishly worship heaven and earth; or who, bowing towards the earth, beg her assistance—*SIN*.”

That the Chinese give personality to heaven and earth, is incontrovertible. Their imperfect knowledge of a Supreme Being has led them to imagine, that all animate and inanimate creatures have a presiding spirit; hence they honor gods of mountains, and hills; of woods, and of stones; of the sea, and of rivers; as well as of heaven, and of earth. By heaven they sometimes mean the Divine Being; but in the text, the visible heavens are meant. They frequently call both on heaven and earth, when in bitter distress.

the fanciful name above. The Ma-ko temple commands the inner harbour, and is built at the foot of an extraordinary pile of rocks. Half way up, and on its summit, are several little temples. A large Yew-tree shades the temple: at its foot are these words: “We desire that heaven will cause good men to be born. We desire that earth will assist man in acting benevolently.”

“Those who, on building a house, worship the upper beam of the roof; or who comply with those who so worship; or worship the patron of the Masens—SIN.”

It is a custom with the Chinese builders on fixing the upper beam of the roof of a building, to let off fire works, and worship it; or the spirit that presides over the ground on which the house stands; when they congratulate the owner on their proceeding thus far with the building. The journeymen generally get a little liquor on the occasion. It is a very general opinion that the Masons, by concealing, in the wall of the building, an image, or a representation of some evil spirit, can materially affect the prosperity or happiness of those who reside in the house: hence it becomes an usage to worship the patron of the Masons, that success and happiness may attend the inhabitants.

“Those who, on erecting a house, suspend a red cloth, or a corn sieve, from the upper beam; or throw Chin-tuys over it; or suspend, over the door, a red cloth; or put pearls in the ceiling of the inner room; or money beneath the base of a wall; or below the threshold of a door—SIN.”

The suspending a piece of red cloth, and a corn sieve, from the upper beam of a house, is supposed to promote felicity—the latter to cause an abundant crop of the various kinds of grain. Chin-tuys (a kind of dumpling) are thrown over the beam, to relieve any orphan or evil spirit that may harbour about the building. The placing of money below the door, or a pearl in the inner room, are to confer happiness and felicity on the dwelling.

“Those who paste up the word Spring, at the commencement of the new year; or the words Happiness and Longevity—SIN.”

The Chinese are superstitiously strict in observing the new year. Labour, even by the lower classes, is put a full stop to on the preceding and following day of the new year; and by the better orders of society, a fortnight or a month is generally kept. On new year's day, the old paper charms are removed, and new ones, such as above, with some scalloped paper, are pasted up in their stead. The shopmen paste, or put in their drawers, the word Lucky, or Fortune; and mechanics, on commencing any employment, either place before them the last mentioned charac-

ter, or write it on the work on which they are about to be employed, hoping, that the new year will prove a propitious one.

“On marrying, those who paste up the double character Happiness; or put up a paper, soliciting the felicitous animal, Ke-ling, to enter—SIN.”

The felicitous animal, Ke-ling, is said to appear as a prognostic of sages being born in the world,—one appeared at the birth of Confucius. The divine birds, Fung and Hwang, are often pasted up for the same purpose.

“At a wedding, those who hang meat at the front door of the house; or put the chop-sticks in a sieve at the door; or beat the clothes-box with their fist; or fasten up the looking glass, to the curtains, within the bed; or arrange pans of flowers by the bed-side; or burn incense—SIN.”

It is fabled, that a certain bride, on leaving the house of her parents to go to that of her husband, was met and devoured by a tiger. The parents of the bridegroom, to prevent so serious a catastrophe in the present day, suspend a piece of meat at the door, as a bribe to this cruel monster. The bride, on entering the house of her husband, leaps over the sieve with the chop-sticks, which are thought to promote the speedy birth of children. The suspending of the looking glass within the bed, is to expel all evil spirits that may enter; for evil spirits, or demons, cannot endure to see their own forms. The arrangement of flower pans, around the bed, is an offering to promote the birth of children.

“At a wedding, those who scatter rice on the bride’s leaving the house of her parents; or select a person of repute, as a companion for the bride and bridegroom; or who burn a candle on the evening of being married, to see whether it dribbles or not—SIN.”

The scattering of rice is to prevent the fabulous bird, Kin-ke-sing, which dwells amongst the stars, from injuring the bride, when going to the house of her espoused. The persons who are esteemed respectable, and are selected to attend both the bride and bridegroom, are those who are the fathers and mothers of a

numerous family.* If the candle dribbles, it is thought unlucky. "Those who put money in the mouth of the corpse; or put rice in jars, to be buried with the dead; or paste up blue papers at the doors; or place a burning lamp before the corpse; or call the sons and grand-sons to detain the spirit of the deceased; or set up a tablet of respect to the deceased; or those who, by tossing up two pieces of wood, inquire the will of the deceased—SIN."

Money is placed in the mouths of the deceased persons, that in case they should re-enter the world in the same form, they may have the means of procuring food to eat. Persons who attain the age of sixty are considered aged. On their death, their sons and grand-sons (supposing that the spirit requires food) inter with the deceased a small quantity of corn and rice, with salt, and a few pickles, for the use of the deceased. If the departed has more than he can make use of, he is supposed to divide it among the orphan spirits. On funeral occasions blue ink is made use of, when they also paste up blue paper at the door, to inform the neighbours of a person's death, that they may not defile themselves by entering the apartments of the deceased. The lamp is called, a ten thousand year's lamp; it is lit out of respect to the deceased's ancestors; and at which the incense offerings are lit. After the return of the eulogy of the deceased, (which is carried, before the corpse, to the grave—and is generally written in large gold characters,) the priests of Taou place it on one side of the room, while they, on the other, drive a nail in the wall, to detain the spirit of the deceased from secretly departing into Hades. Great happiness attends the son, or grand-son, who obtains this nail. Inquiring of the deceased, or of the gods, by means of the Keaou-pei, or throwing up two pieces of oval wood, cut through the centre, is often had recourse to in the temples; they are thrown up thrice; if the smooth surface turn up oftenest, it is supposed to indicate the will of the Deity, or of the deceased, to the question or petition put. It frequently occurs

* The Chinese have laid down rules for women with child—how they should sit, walk, and sleep, to prevent abortions; and to enable them to bring forth strong healthy children. The above persons are supposed able to give advice to the bride and bridegroom, respecting having a numerous family.

that, if the person is disappointed in the answer, he throws again and again till he obtains the supposed consent of the gods.

"Those who cause to be engraved on the tomb-stones, that such a hill was selected; and that the person lies towards such a point of the compass, and was buried on such a propitious day; or foolishly believe the geomancy of the Fung-shwuy—SIN."

The doctrine of the Fung-shwuy, which inculcates the above superstitious customs, is allowed, by the considerate Chinese, to be one of the most useless that has entered the mind of man; yet this absurd doctrine has taken such a hold of the minds of the simple, that the Fung-shwuy are necessary to fix the site of the house, and the position of a grave. These demons among the tombs (as they are always wandering about in burial places, and on hills) frequently go in companies of two or more persons, who, after passing over a piece of ground twenty times, have been heard to remark to each other: "This is too high; (on taking a few steps) this is too low; (on receding a step or two,) this is not a good situation; or it is too much to the south, &c." When, after spending a month or more, sometimes several years, they frequently fix on the spot from whence they set out. Should the family decline rather than prosper, after this expense and trouble, and the Fung-shwuy are appealed to for the cause, they reply, by way of consolation, that if you do not prosper in this generation, you (i. e. the family) will certainly in the next!

"Those who weep over the dead; or present eulogies; or give the various gilt paper offerings—SIN."

On the death of any one, the near relations prostrate themselves before the corpse, with their hair loose about their shoulders, and weep bitterly, both morning and evening, for a considerable time. This is continued for three days; when the person is put into the coffin. If he be a poor person, and has left no relations, he is generally interred on the day of his death. The Chinese, like all eastern nations, are much addicted to compliment and it is usual with them, at the death of any, to say or write something out of respect to the deceased. The death of the aged, or of the parents of a large family, affords them ample subject for this. These eulogies are generally written on silk.

“Those who worship at the tombs during the Tsing-ming festival, or put paper beneath a sod, on the tomb—**SIN.**”

This festival (at which time they repair the tombs of their ancestors) is observed during the third moon, by all ranks in China, from the Emperor to the meanest family, when the offerings, which are frequently expensive, are according to the circumstances of the family. It often consists of fish, flesh and poultry, as well as of pastry and fruit, with wine and tea, and offerings of paper, &c. It is no unusual occurrence to see, on the occasion, a large dressed and roasted pig, with a goat ready for the spit. These are all spread before the tomb, and after bowing thrice, they pour out libations both of tea and wine, at which time, it is supposed, the spirits of the deceased come and partake of the offerings, after which the relations sit down and partake of them, or remove them home, where they generally spend the day in mirth. The wealthy, on those occasions, are frequently attended by one or two priests, who pray for the souls in purgatory.

“Those who foolishly weep before the tablet of the deceased—**SIN.**”

After the deceased is interred, it is usual to set up his tablet, or inscribe his name on the family altar, before which incense is lit up night and morning. The modern usage is for the near relatives of the deceased to weep, and make their prostrations before it, both morning and evening, for forty-nine days. The custom of erecting a tablet to the deceased is said to have originated during the Dynasty Chow, (B. C. 350,) when one Kae-tsze-chuy, attendant on the sovereign of Tsin, cut out a piece of his thigh and caused it to be dressed for his Majesty, who was fainting with hunger. Kae-tsze-chuy not being able to continue his march from the pain he suffered, concealed himself in the wood. This prince, on his arrival at the state Tsee, sent soldiers to take care of him. They, on being unable to discover him, set fire to the wood, when he was burnt to death. The prince, on discovering his corpse, erected a tablet to his manes, which he begged to accompany him home, when he caused incense to be offered to him daily. Youths, under twenty, unless married, have no tablets erected to them; and children, under ten, have no funeral processions; being interred privately. Young children and infants are seldom allowed a coffin—they are often wrapped up in a cloth or

few leaves, and in that manner put into the ground, apart of the family tombs.

“Those who worship the Northern Polar Star—SIN.”

This is done by the literati to obtain fame. They make their prostrations before a representation of Kwei-sing, who is represented standing on one foot, holding a pencil in his hand ; and who is supposed to be, on account of his extraordinary talents, translated to the Northern Polar Star. He is considered the god of learning.

“Those who foolishly believe in the strange appearances of birds and beasts ; wood and grass ; and that these are capable of injuring persons—SIN.”

The Chinese ideas of strange appearances are not dissimilar from those of ignorant Europeans ; they have, besides the above, unaccountable noises, spirits of bogs and of rivers, with two-headed sheep, monsters, &c. &c.

“Those foolishly believe, that the flowering of a candle, (exuberance of the snuff) or the laughing of the fire, (the fire blazing up) indicates felicity or infelicity—SIN.”

The flowering of a candle in the evening, they think, indicates, that an affair of a pleasant nature will occur on the following day. The blazing up of the fire, that something unpleasant will happen.

“Those who believe that when a coughing or sneezing fit occurs, a person is talking about them—SIN.”

“Those who worship the sun, moon, and stars—SIN.”

Offerings are presented to the sun at eclipses*. Eclipses are regarded by the Chinese with peculiar dread, as portending some calamity of a national nature. On the 16th of the 8th moon, cakes, or a kind of small mince pies, are made on the occasion : oblations of wine and tea are offered to the moon, very generally throughout the empire. On the 7th of the 7th moon, the unmarried women offer flowers and cosmetics, with wine, to two stars in the milky way.

* The prevailing opinion among the lower classes of the Chinese is, that at an eclipse, an animal monster, resembling a frog, with two forepaws and one leg, swallows the sun or moon, on which account, the priests in the temples, and the number of people in the streets, as well as the officers at the public courts, sound the drum. Just as the eclipses commences, every one sounds it as loud as he can, that the frog, being alarmed by the noise, may instantly cast it forth. This is continued till the eclipse is gone by.

“Those who foolishly believe that the cries of the Rook and Magpie, indicate felicity and infelicity—**SIN.**”

The Magpie is held in great esteem by the Chinese, and its flight over a house is supposed to indicate the arrival of some stranger. The Rook is considered infelicitous, and a certain prognostic of some trouble from the magistrates.

“Those who issue placards or libels, with or without names—**SIN.**”

In China there are no daily or weekly papers for the people; of course they have not the opportunity of publishing libels or satires, or indulging themselves in scurrilous abuse by that means. They therefore, to defame or take revenge, paste up papers in the streets, much to the injury of the accused or traduced person, as truth is seldom a prominent feature of these papers. If the libeller is discovered, he is punishable by the law.

“Those who kidnap children—**SIN.**”

The stealing of children is carried to a very great extent in China. These poor deluded victims are sold as slaves to the rich, and for other purposes. At the close of the year 1819, a whole family, consisting of father and mother, with their two sons and wives, were apprehended at Canton for kidnapping children. The parents were both executed. One of their sons made his escape, but the other, with his wife and sister-in-law, were sentenced to close confinement. It is supposed, in that province only, that they decoyed away and kidnapped upwards of six hundred children.

“Those who take poisonous medicines to cause abortion—**SIN.**”

“Those who commit infanticide—**SIN.**”

It has been doubted by some Europeans whether the Chinese be guilty of such an inhuman crime as infanticide. It is, however, too credibly attested by the Chinese themselves to leave, in the mind of any impartial person, a doubt on the subject. The most prevalent mode of effecting this crime is by suffocation, which is done by means of a piece of paper, dipped in vinegar, laid over the face of the child, so as to prevent it from breathing either by means of its mouth or nostrils. It is said to be frequently done to aged and afflicted persons, to cut the brittle thread of life! In the two districts of Hwuy-chow-foo and Keang-ying-foo, of the province of Canton, infanticide is still carried to a very

considerable extent; so far, that it is believed that not above one out of three females is suffered to live; and what is to be regretted, it does not seem a crime in the eye of the law. The male branch is generally preserved, and in these districts they form by far the greater half of the community. Parents are frequently under the necessity of going to other districts, or to the city, to purchase wives for their sons.

The magistrates of the different provinces frequently issue notices, advising the people to abstain from the horrid practice above alluded to. They particularly address themselves to those parents who have children born on unlucky days.

“Those who commit the crimes of bestiality and sodomy—*SIN*.”

The Chinese are too well known to be guilty of these detestable crimes to require a single word by way of note on them. The time is greatly to be desired when virtue in China shall not only appear on the pages of her books, but be imprinted in every bosom in that immense empire.

The customs which have been noticed in the preceding pages are not peculiar to the lower classes of the Chinese; but are such as are to be met with, very generally, in the various walks of life; from which (and other works on the customs of the Chinese which are before the public) it appears evident, that the Chinese are an idolatrous and superstitious people; and though they have not debased themselves with the gross idolatrous notions of the Hindoos, from which the doctrines of Budha or Füh originated; yet their belief in sorcery, and witchcraft, and the prevalency of fortune-telling, divining, sacrificing to departed spirits, to demons, and their worshipping numberless gods, who have temples erected to them, and others who have no temples, but many of which have set days for worship being paid to them, shew, that they are the slaves of superstition and idolatry.

Two of the gods who have temples erected to them are called *San-kea Ta-te*, (of *Kwang-se*) and *Chang-yuen-sze*, (of *Keang-se*). The latter lived during the dynasty *Tang*, (about A. D. 844). He was acquainted with astronomy, on which account the reigning sovereign decreed him a god. They were both considered divine persons, and to whom worship was paid while alive; and

from their death to the present time, one branch or other of their families has succeeded them, to whom religious worship has always been paid, in the temples dedicated to them, throughout the empire.* They are allowed to marry, (which the priests of China are not) and are still considered to inherit all the virtues of their ancestors. They have sometimes gone about to exhort the people to virtue.

It has been said, preposterously, when applied to religion, that ignorance is the mother of devotion ; but it seems with more propriety when applied to idolatry. The mind, when illumined with wisdom, delights in scanning the works of creation, of nature, and of providence ; but when the mind is devoid of this wonderful light, it coils within itself, and follows custom, in bowing to stocks and stones, and in offering, morning and evening, a few matches of incense, without reflecting for a moment—Why ? Thus it has been with China ever since the notions of Budha attracted general notice.

It seems more than probable, from the high spirit of valour which China displayed during the three contending states, and from the literary spirit which pervaded the empire soon after those contentions, that had China been early favored with the Christian religion, and the surrounding states kept equal progress with herself, (which has been the case in the west) that she would, at this day, have been the admiration of both, for science and religion. Had China been early favored with the Bible, it is more than probable that ere now she would have forsaken her idolatrous temples, and have discarded an unintelligible jargon of Budha for a rational religious worship. But she has not had this light—this treasure of knowledge—this spring of love. She is like a forlorn traveller, (in an uninhabited country) who, without a compass, or a guide, wanders here and there, and is pleased with whatever he discovers. On reaching the boundaries of the land, he fancies he has travelled over the globe, and arrived at the summit of attainments. He has never imagined that there are other nations, and other peoples, where the land is cultivated, and the rivers stocked.

* The vulgar opinion respecting San-kea Ta-te and Chang-yuen-sze is, that when persons are presenting offerings before their representations in the temples, their spirits forsake their bodies, and go and partake of offerings, whether it be food or wine ; and after the return of their spirits that they appear flush and florid, as though they had both eaten and drunken.

ON THE ETHNOGRAPHIC POSITION OF THE KARENS.

By J. R. LOGAN, Esq.

MR O'RILEY has requested me to preface his very valuable papers on the Kaya by some remarks on this interesting people. His explorations fill up what was almost a blank in the geography and ethnography of the portion of Ultraindia traversed by him, and all that is left for me is to indicate the ethnic place of this tribe from the facts furnished in his Notice and Journals, and from a vocabulary which he procured for me some years ago.

The previous meagre notices by Low,* whose information was derived from the Burmese, Shans and southern Karens, and by Dr Richardson,† who crossed the lower part of the Karen-ni country in 1836 and 1837, comprise nearly all that was known of this tribe. Dr Helfer and other writers, misled by the generic name, confounded them with the Karens of the Tenasserim provinces and Pegu. The authentic information we possessed amounted to little more than this, that they were spread over the mountainous land along the Salwin, were independent and predatory, hated the Burmese and traded with the Shans of the Siamese territory east of the river. Colonel Low mentions that in former years they harassed the Burmese of Martaban, making annual attacks on them in bodies of five, eight or ten thousand. The war-dress was made of skins of animals, the coat being of buffalo hide well fitted for protection against arrows. He did not succeed in meeting any of them in his excursion to the margin of their country, about 140 miles from the sea, which, he thought, was perhaps "fortunate in one point of view as they were represented as very savage and expert at the cross bow, shooting from behind cover of the jungle with deadly precision." Dr Richardson found that their Shan neighbours on the Burmese side of the Salwin held them in great dread, comparing their sudden forays to the swoop of a hawk. From three to four hundred of the western Shans were annually carried off by them and sold as slaves to the Shans of Siam. Dr Richardson described their houses as miserable and destitute of every comfort; their agriculture as very rude. Their only traffic con-

* Journal of the Indian Archipelago vol. iv. p. 413.

† Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, for 1837, p. 1007 &c.

sist in the barter of slaves and sticklac to the Siamese Shans who brought to them in exchange black cattle, buffaloes, salt and betelnut. Their country was said to yield tin in abundance.

The historical traditions of rude and unlettered tribes have seldom much ethnologic value. In general they refer to recent events and are inaccurate and partially fabulous. The Kaya tradition, however, has the support of linguistic evidence which cannot be accorded to some European speculations on their origin. A Caucasian and a Jewish origin have both been attributed to the southern Karens. Mr Mason, who at first held that they were of Hebrew descent, now considers it probable that among the various native tribes they were the last to enter the country. They have a tradition that they crossed a river of running sand before the Shans settled at Zimmay, and he thinks there can scarcely be a rational doubt that this is the desert between China and Tibet designated by Fa Hian as the "river of sand." Mr Cross mentions a tradition which places their ancient country on the eastern side of a great body of water called Kaw or Kho, which is so broad that the horn-bills require seven days to cross it on their annual migration at the beginning of the rainy season. He thinks this must refer to the Bay of Bengal.

The most satisfactory evidence of the older movements and relations of rude tribes is to be found in their language. In my general remarks on the distribution of the Tibeto-Burman tribes of Asam, Burma and Pegu, I observed that Mr O'Riley's vocabulary made it certain that the Karen-ni tongue or this dialect of it, was "a distinct and very ancient one of the Yuma family," to which I had referred the Toung-thu, the Karen dialects, and the older languages of the Yuma range—Khyeng, Kami &c. The Yuma family is one of the sub-divisions of the western or Tibetan branch of the Himalaic alliance, which was preceded in India and Ultraindia by the Eastern or Mon-Anam. The Himalaic formation is intermediate in its characters, structural and glossarial, between Chinese and Scythic; and as the existing languages of Tibet are pure Himalaic and are conterminous with Scythic and Chinese, it is inferred that the cognate southern tongues were derived from the north of the Himalaya, that is from the ancient Tibetan province. The oldest southern family, the Mon-Anam or East Himalaic,

has some archaic or radical peculiarities in structure, and it has been further deeply differentiated under the influence first of Dravidian and afterwards of Chinese. The later family retains the same essential characters in Tibet, India and Ultratania. It is more Scythic than the Mon-Anam.

The indications of language are, in this case, concurrent with those of the other ethnologic characters. The Tibeto-Burmans, where least modified by Indian and modern Chinese influences, preserve all the traits of the ancient race and civilisation of Upper and Eastern Asia. They are Turanian or Mongolic in person only. Their native usages are of archaic mid-Asian origin like those of the Tatar hordes and of the Chinese themselves. In remote ages the Mid-Asian usages received modifications in the Scythic, the Himalaic and the Chinese families, and the later civilisations of the Tatars and Chinese, especially of the latter, have greatly masked them. Even in the Himalaic province they have been variously changed and softened and their primitive forms and objects have often to be sought among the families carried by the older waves of migration to great distances from the centre of dispersions—those of N. E. Asia, America, Asonesia and Africa. The eras at which the nuclei of the different ancient civilisations of these outlying provinces of the human world were disseminated from the Asiatic or Aso-European nursery vary greatly. Each of these nuclei marks the prevalence of a certain stage of humanity in the middle region or in an adjacent marginal one when an influential migration was going on.

It is necessary, however, to bear in mind, first, that all forms of civilisation, like all forms of language, have a common ultimate basis; and, second, that the more ancient civilisations of Asia spread into the other provinces at periods posterior to the establishment of distinct families of language. Spontaneous human progress in all its phases follows definite lines. Religion and language, domestic and social institutions, science and art, wherever their development is indigenous, pass through similar gradations. But there has been little spontaneous progress in the great majority of tribes. Conservation is the most powerful principle in isolated and exclusive communities—the sole form of nationality in lower ethnic stages—and with the exception of those leading tribes of every region

which have been forced into advancement by density of population in localities favorable to it, important changes have been the result of irresistible foreign influences. Hence the positive forms of ethnic life are generally derivative. Naturalism is primitive, science and poetry but the forms which it takes, and the practises in which it finds expression are rarely primitive. They are in general secondary and derivative. The family is primitive society, but it is rarely true that the positive domestic and social customs even of the most patriarchal tribe have originated in it since it became segregated. They have been inherited by it and by many other tribes from a common ancestry, or they have been received from foreigners. But in every case we must make due allowance for the agreement in creeds and habits resulting from the nature of man and the universal laws of development as well as those more referable to the archaic and extensive propagations of special forms, before narrower family peculiarities can be correctly estimated. The greater number of the customs and tenets of every tribe are not confined to its immediate collaterals. Few taken singly are without parallels in other families. Up to a certain point all tribes have a common substratum. Beyond this the circles of affinity gradually narrow. Close relationship does not shew itself much in the analogy or even in the identity of special traits, as in a certain homogeneity in the general development and in its forms. The family likeness shows itself in the *ensemble* of ethnic characters and is consistent with many and large divergencies and deficiencies in particular tribes.

In an introductory paper on the ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands, I remarked that long before the rise of the special and advanced forms of ethnic development found among the ancient Egyptians, Semites and Iranians, one well marked civilisation, characterised by a common morality and by distinctive social, domestic and religious institutions and practices, prevailed almost universally. Geographical concurs with linguistic evidence in assigning its original seat to middle Asia whence it spread to America, to the peninsulas and islands of Southern Asia, to Europe and to Africa. It is necessary to insist on this in order to convey a correct impression of the ethnic place of any of the Himalaic tribes because the notion that all barbarous tribes are

merely degenerate offshoots of civilised ones and that mankind began their career with a supernaturally developed language and a supernaturally elevated civilisation, is still maintained by some philosophic writers and enters largely into popular belief. The relative age of the dominant pre-historic civilisation can be fixed approximately by the aid of linguistic records. In all the most remote portions of the human field we find a form of language excessively elaborate and redundant. In this respect the American, the Australian and the African resemble each other. When they are compared with each other and with the various surviving families of Asia it becomes evident that their early removal from the more favoured central province and their subsequent long isolation and stagnation have enabled them to preserve as the immediate basis of their several formations, distinct as those are, a form of speech in which the primary and cumbersome monosyllabism was passing into the harmonic and agglutinate, and which must at one time have prevailed over a large part of Asia.

The common heritage of civilisation was certainly developed before this form of language began to be impaired in Asia. The social system was that of clans under a father or patriarch, which so strictly adhered to the traditional family origin that intermarriage between persons of the same clan was prohibited. Each clan had a distinguishing name and emblem and every member was marked or tattooed with the latter. Humanity had made little advance. Selfishness ruled undisguised and produced indifference to human suffering and bloodshed. Strength alone was respected. The sexual relationship had received no refinement. In the family the wives were slaves and the power of the husband was absolute. On his death his wives with his other property were inherited by his brothers and his sons. Still grosser customs appear to have prevailed widely if not universally, and it is not improbable that this law of inheritance originated in the practice not yet wholly extinct of brothers having a community of wives. In some tribes sons inherited their step-mother and fathers their daughter-in-law. The lives of the weak—deformed, sickly and aged persons and infants—were remorselessly sacrificed when their maintenance or transport became burdensome. The low condition of art and the want of settled industry made famine a frequent visitant of the

household in many regions, and this helped to render the feelings callous to the slaughter or abandonment of the less useful members of the family. Tribe feuds were almost inextinguishable and were conducted with ferocity,—torture, mutilation, and cannibalism being practised. The religion was naturalism and shamanism and human sacrifices were offered. Along with a general attribution of spirits and spiritual influence to material objects the idea of a Supreme God had been attained. An immaterial and imperishable spirit was also recognised in men. Spiritual power over health and life was obtainable by the living, while the spirits of deceased ancestors and relatives were a principal object of reverence, fear and worship. To gratify the spirit in another world, and to avert its anger or malice a large portion of the possessions of the deceased were devoted to his use and buried or burned with him. The house itself was destroyed or deserted or a miniature one was consecrated to the ghost. The observances connected with death varied but all were founded on a belief in the duty of satisfying and appeasing the spirit. The nomadic life appears to have led to the practice of preserving the bones or the ashes which accompanied the family in all its wanderings. Sorcery, divination and ordeals were universally practised and deeply influenced life by holding it in an atmosphere of distrust, dread and revenge. A complex and burdensome system of taboo was the necessary result of the fear in which spirits and especially those of men and of diseases were held. Such are some of the characteristics of a civilisation of which large traces are found in Asia and which is still predominant among the oldest races of America, Africa and Asonesia. The archaic system of clan-ship is in full force among the Chinese, many of the Himalaic tribes of the continent and Asonesia, the Australian and the purer tribes of America and Africa, while remnants of it are found among the Tatars (Ostiaks), Dravirians (Khonds) and Indo-Europeans, (Arians of Menusage, Ossetians of the Caucasus). In the Iranian and Semitic families naturalism, shamanism, and human sacrifices preceded more advanced religions and still partially colour some of their forms. The ruder tribes of other families retain them. In Africa, America and Asonesia they are common. In Asia they survive

among the more remote Scythoid tribes (Chuckchi &c.) and among some of the Dravirian (Khond), and Himalaic.

The Chuckchi kill all deformed and weakly children and all their old people as they become unfit for the nomadic life. In 1814 when a disease raged the Shamans declared that one of the most respected chiefs must be sacrificed. Neither entreaties nor chastisement would induce the Shamans to revoke their mandate. No one was willing to kill the victim, till at last his son, terrified by the threat of his father's curse, plunged a knife into his breast. The most primitive of the Turkish hordes of the Yakuti of the N. S., exposed their superfluous new born infants in baskets suspended from trees. The oldest servants of the chiefs were buried alive or killed at his funeral.

The ancient Mongols offered to the deceased flesh and milk and at the burial immolated his favorite horse saddled and bridled and placed a bow and arrows in the tomb. Head chiefs were laid on a seat in the middle of a hut before a table on which flesh and kumis were placed. The hut was entombed along with a horse caparisoned, a mare with her foal and the most precious effects of the chief whose name was tabooed till the third generation—an existing Chinese and Asonesian custom. Marco Polo relates that when the corpses of the Tatar Khans were carried to the Altai to be buried all who were met on the way were put to death that they might serve the deceased chiefs in the other world. Like the Chinese and Tibetans they burnt for the use of the dead, paper men, horses, camels, clothes and coins. Even now, according to Huc, the Buddhist Tatar chiefs are sometimes buried with the ancient rites. Articles of real value, money and all other necessaries are placed in the tomb, a large edifice of brick, and slave children, of both sexes, killed by doses of mercury, are placed upright around the corpse holding in their hands pipes, fans, snuff phials and other paraphernalia of the deceased chief. Shamanism has not been extinguished by Buddhism to which it owes its current name (shaman-ramana).

The Lau race prior to their conversion to Buddhism adhered to the ancient Scythic and Chinese rites of burial. The tombs of the Ahom chiefs found in Asam are similar to those of Tatar Khans. Personal ornaments, weapons, utensils for cooking and eating, &c.

are found in them. There is a tradition that in the tombs of the earlier Rajahs their wives, guards, slaves, attendants, an elephant and a horse were buried alive.—(J. A. S. xvii, 475.)

The ancient Scythians of Western Asia, as described by the Father of History, had many similar usages. The corpse of the king, embalmed, encased in wax, was carried from province to province, those who came out to receive it mutilating and lacerating themselves, until it arrived at the ancient sepulchres of the kings in the remotest parts of Scythia. Here they killed one of his concubines and several of his servants with a number of his best horses and enclosed them with his choicest effects in the great tumuli raised over the grave. In the following year a further sacrifice of slaves and horses took place. The common funeral rites consisted in carrying the corpse for forty days from house to house among the friends of the departed, it and the bearers being feasted at each. It was then buried. Other Scythians suspended it from a tree and left it to putrify. Simple exposure is still common among the eastern branches of the race in Asia, Asonesia and America. Those who assisted in the rites purified themselves by washing the head and exposing the person to the fumes of singeing wool and of hemp seed. The other customs of the Scythians were also of Tatar or Tataro-American character, e. g. the sacrifice to the war god of every hundredth captive, the drinking by the novice of the blood of the first person killed by him, the scalping and occasional flaying of the slain, with the uses to which the scalps and skins were put, the conversion of the skulls into drinking cups, the pledge by drinking blood, the use of mare's milk, the abstinence from bathing. One custom of the diviners is entirely shaman. The sickness of the king was ascribed to some person having perjured himself, the great oath being by the king's throne. Three diviners were summoned and required to point out the perjurer. If he indignantly denied his guilt six others were called in. If they agreed with the first the accused was put to death. If they pronounced him innocent the three false diviners were burnt alive. The hog was under a ban as among the Semitic tribes and this distinguishes the western from the eastern branches of the race—Tatar, Himalayo-Polynesian and Chinese with whom the hog is a principal article of food.

Herodotus mentions a tribe still more barbarous in some of its habits than the Scythians. The Padæi, a pastoral people to the east of the Indians proper, were said to live on raw flesh and to kill and eat the diseased and aged. This was probably one of the Himalaic tribes of Ultraindia. Traces of the same custom are still found amongst the insular tribes of the race.

The ancient faith lingers among the Ugrian tribes. Shamanism retains full sway over the Ostiaks, and deceased Shamans are worshipped as gods. Images of deceased relatives are made and kept for three years in the house, food being daily offered to them. A tradition is preserved that a virgin was annually sacrificed to the river Obi.

The northern Scythoid tribes, the Samoiedes, Yeneseians, Yukahiri, Chuckchi-Koriaks, Kamschatkans and Aino-Kurilians are faithful to the old religion and having been less exposed than the Tatars to the influence of the civilised southern and western races, it presents some American traits now lost or obscured among the Tatars. The Kamschatkans believe that every living thing after death becomes immortal in a region under the earth. The Ainos demolish the house in which a death happens, embalm the dead and visit them every year. The old clan system appears to be in force and marriages between near relatives and, in some places, between inhabitants of the same district, are avoided.

All the northern Asiatic races, like the American and Himalaic, believe in one Supreme Spirit, but do not worship him. They have images of inferior gods and spirits.

In the adjacent American province the Scythic civilisation has been preserved in an older, more barbarous and more elaborate form, analogous in many respects to the Polynesian and African. All the ancient Asiatic usages were observed by most of the tribes when they first came in contact with Europeans.

The religion had the same character and rites, the manes and the mortal remains of the dead having the foremost place. All objects, natural and artificial, have spirits. The modes of disposing of the dead, the lacerations, food offerings, burial of articles used in life, and other rites, the preservation of the bones or skulls and the frequent visits of lamentation to them are all Asiatic. The Shamans had the same functions as in Asia and were exposed to the same

dangers. A more specific Herodotean trait is their androgynous character. Boys of the most effeminate disposition, that is the most nervously excitable, were devoted to the office. They wore a female dress and were not allowed to marry. A similar institution is found among the Dyaks. Clanship with all its incidents prevailed. Human life was little regarded. Men were sacrificed, enemies tortured and the infirm aged killed. Cannibalism was practised by some tribes. The higher material civilisation of the Mexicans and Peruvians did not humanize them. The former feasted on their captives and smeared their children with the blood, while the chief warriors hung the skins about them and danced exultingly. In some places the skins were used for drums. Men were sacrificed to the Gods. Both races killed slaves to attend on deceased chiefs and a thousand victims were thus buried with one of the Peruvian Incas.

Human sacrifices to dead rulers were not abolished in China until about 250 B. C., Chi Hwangti being the last emperor who caused his servants to be killed and buried with him. Even now the Chinese retain so many of the ideas and rites, actual or symbolic, of the old civilisation that the conclusion is unavoidable that in the American Indians we see not only the physical resemblance indicative of a common descent, but a condition of life which the Chinese, like the other tribes of Eastern Asia, once shared.

It is needless to give details in illustration of the prevalence of the ancient faith and rites in Africa and Asonesia. The old Semitic creed and civilisation were similar to the African and not less gross and ferocious.

The early Iranian was not more advanced. The most ancient western (Celtic) and eastern (Arian) branches of the Iranian family offered human sacrifices and the practice was partially followed by the Greeks. The immolation of human beings to the gods, the cremation of widows, or burying them alive, with their deceased husbands, and infanticide, were prevalent Arian customs in India until British interference with them. When the Indo-European race first migrated to Europe its civilisation was of the old Scythic kind. The polyandry of the Celts was grosser than that of the Tibetans; their arts were not more improved than

those of the American Indians and Polynesians; they painted their bodies and wore skins. Human victims were sacrificed to avert diseases and other calamities. Burning, impaling and crucifixion were among the modes of killing them. Captives were also liable to be burned or otherwise destroyed, and the heads of those slain in battle were brought home in triumph. With the dead, slaves, animals and other property were burned. The Ossetes of the Caucasus in some of their domestic customs are still as gross as the Celts were, and the Russians have only recently abandoned one of the most degrading of these practices. The Ossetes have a vestige of the ancient death rites in the custom of leading the widow and the saddle horse of the deceased thrice round the grave. The wife thus devoted to the dead cannot re-marry and no one can again mount the horse. The Germanic races down to the time of their conversion to Christianity, and in some instances even subsequently to that event, retained many of the practises of the old Asiatic faith. All offered human sacrifices. In some tribes servants and horses were burned with the corpses of chiefs, and in one at least wives hanged themselves at the graves of their husbands. It is still customary in some parts of Germany to provide the deceased with a piece of money which is placed in the mouth. The dead were believed to lead the same life in the future world as in this, to revisit their homes and to succour their children who prayed to them at their graves. The soul even in life had the power of leaving the body during sleep and wandering in the shape of a snake. Many other traces of the old Asiatic beliefs are to be found in the mythologies of Europe and in the superstitions that still linger, sometimes in a Christian guise.

The truth is that every existing race passed through the stage we have indicated and that no people can be found which has even yet wholly eliminated the superstitions that were the science and the religion of the primitive Asian civilisation. If the conclusions of ethnology compel us to abate somewhat of our respect for the inherent dignity of human nature, they greatly exalt our conception of its marvellous plasticity and capacity for progress and place on the firm basis of science our belief in the improbability of the most savage tribes, in the destiny of the leading family of each successive epoch to give its civilisation a universal extension, and

in the limitless growth of the race in knowledge, humanity and happiness.

The latest stage of the proper Tibeto-Burman development where best preserved has much both in what it has retained and in what it has rejected that assimilates it to the latest Scythic stage, as exemplified in the remoter tribes of N. E. Asia and in the condition of the Tatar races before they fell under the influence of the southern religions and manners—Arabic, Persian, Indian, and Chinese. It is ancient or backward and simple in comparison with the Arian even in its earliest Indian form. It is modern and advanced in comparison with the Papuan.

With the later great civilisation of Asonesia, the Malayo-Polynesian, it is identical, the leading insular race being Himalaic in person, usages and, to a considerable extent, in vocabulary. Where the Tibeto-Burmans have been least modified by Chinese and Indians and the Malayo-Polynesians by Indians and Arabs, the radical identity is most conspicuous. The Islamised Malay has little obvious resemblance except in person to the Hinduised Goorkha. The Dayak is simply the Naga in a distant colony long isolated. The latest pre-Arian civilisation of the Tibeto-Burman tribes of the Ganges and the Irawadi as well as the older and more barbarous stages of Himalaic life, are faithfully preserved by the Oceanic scions of the family. But every group of the existing tribes, both on the continent and the islands, varies in the degree to which the ancient usages retain force, and in each there are characteristic peculiarities in the details of form. In some, old customs have gone out of use, in others their more savage incidents have been rejected or receive a merely symbolic observance.

We are prepared to expect that any newly described people of Ultraindia should prove to be Himalaic, and as such should have affinities in language and customs not only with other Tibeto-Burman tribes but with Malayo-Polynesian and, more remotely, with Chinese and Scythic.

The Kaya retain many of the native usages of the family. The form of society is the same that prevails normally among all the other tribes on the continent and among those of the latest or most western branch of the Malayo-Polynesians. It is based on

clanship, but the clans have become broken and dispersed. The only powerful bond in a state of society so rude and predatory is that of the village, or group of allied villages, each being in itself a petty republic, under a hereditary patriarch or the elected head of a hereditary chief family, who has little personal authority unless his prowess and cunning are much superior to those of the other elders. Every offshoot from such a community carries with it the same organisation and the only political combination possible is a voluntary or compulsory alliance of the independent villageships under the supremacy of the chief of one of them. Monarchy and despotism are the result of denser population in localities favorable to its growth and of the attendant improvement in arts and extension of dominion. In the earlier stages of *national* civilisation the king and the royal family become sacred or divine, and wherever, under a princely leader, distant colonies or conquests are made, the idea and the practice of king worship are maintained. The Himalaic race had not attained this condition of society when its tribes spread to the southward of the snows, and hence they remain essentially democratic, with the exception of the few which have become nations and been aided in the reception of kingly and theocratic forms of government by the influence of Hindu or Chinese religion and polity. Even in these nations the native form of society has seldom been entirely obliterated, and wherever the central authority is weak the old democratic organisation resumes its sway. The Malays of Sumatra retained their Himalaic clans and democratic village communities under pangulus even when the power of rajahs and sultans of the Hindu and Arab types was at the highest. The great mass of the Lau preserve the ancient form although familiar with the kingly rule which has been established among them in Asam, in Laos, and now in Siam. Even the Chinese still retain very strongly the ancient predilection for clanship and village independence.

The Kaya, like the Sgau, have escaped conversion to Buddhism which is now the creed of the Pgho and the Toung-thu. The southern Karens have blended with the ancient Himalaic faith and some Buddhist notions, legends which have manifestly a Judaic or Christian origin; and which, in all probability, are the vestiges of

one of the early and zealous Portuguese missions.* As there can be little doubt that the native Kaya superstitions will be found to resemble those of the Sgau I will briefly notice the latter.

Shamanism is retained by the Sgau in forms very similar to the West Indonesian. They also preserve the Indonesian belief that every object, animate or inanimate, has a life-spirit, *kelah*, the *smangat* of the Malays. Before planting the annual crop of paddy they invoke the spirit of grain like the Malays. The shaman has power over the human life-spirit as among the Scythic and all the other existing branches of the archaic Asiatic faith—American, Himalaic, Indonesian, Dravirian and African. The Karen shaman can destroy or restore life by seizing the spirit of a living man when it wanders forth during sleep and causing it to transmigrate into a corpse. The deserted sleeper sickens and dies. The lifeless body is reanimated. The life spirit is also liable to be devoured by *kephu*, persons who have the power of detaching the head and entrails from the rest of the body which they leave in their beds while they wander in this loathsome form in search of victims. The *kephu* is identical with the *tangalong* or *langsiah* of the Malays and the *hantuen* of the southern Dayaks. The shades of men who come to a violent end are evil spirits and produce mortal diseases by seizing the *kelah*. The spirits of the heinously wicked wander about in this world and appear to men in the shapes of animals or of giants who are seen in the depths of the forest. The spirits of those who have not been buried or burned, of the aged who have died from their weakness, and of infants, are also wandering but harmless ghosts. With these exceptions the deceased Karen go to a purgatorial realm called *Plu* where they live as in this world under a king who after a period of probation transmits them to heaven or to hell, according to their deserts.

They have also gods of the wet and dry seasons and a class of evil spirits called *nah* or *tah-nah*, the nat of the Burmans and *kwei* of

* It must be remarked however that the belief in a supreme being enters into the ancient Mid Asian creed. In the Himalaic as in the native Chinese and Scythic faith he is recognised in the visible sky and is generally known by its name—Thien of the Chinese, Rang &c. of several Himalaic tribes, Nam, Nob, Tengri &c. archaic Tibeto-Scythic. The southern Karens, those of Tavoy at least, attribute to the Supreme God a son who intercedes with him on behalf of mortals. This may be a Christian idea, but a similar one is entertained by some other Himalaic tribes, as the Kuki, who retain native savage observances, including the sacrifice of human life, and are devoid of the other Karen legends which have led to the supposition of a Jewish origin.

the Chinese. The nats are the only objects of Kaya worship mentioned by Mr O'Riley. The belief and the forms of worship are Scythic, Himalaic and Indonesian. Even Malays, notwithstanding their Islamism, continue to hold the nats in awe and, like their Ultraindian cousins, propitiate them by offerings of miniature houses in which boiled rice, plantains and other comestibles are put.

Augury is a general practice of the Himalaic tribes. The Goras and the Miri consult the entrails and especially the livers of the sacrificial animals. The Angami have recourse to eggs. The Karen method has not hitherto been observed among any other Himalaic people. The Tavoy Karens have a similar legend as to the loss of the hide containing the law—the Buddhist commandments probably, which had a large acceptance among the ruder tribes of Ultraindia and Indonesia—but according to this version the words were scratched out by the feet of the fowl which are hence considered sacred.

The custom of furnishing the dead with articles of food and clothing and other necessities and luxuries belongs to the old Asiatic faith. In Eastern Asia it is still practised by other Himalaic tribes, by their insular kinsfolk, by the Tatars and by the Chinese. Some of the Tibeto-Burman tribes (Kuki, Garo &c.), like some of the West Indonesian, still kill men to serve as slaves of the deceased when a chief. The Kaya have softened this into a nominal devotion of a slave to the dead. The Chinese, who at an early period of their civilisation symbolised most of the usages of their barbarous era, have thus preserved a similar record of the primitive Mid-Asian rites of sepulture. One of these, common to them with the Mongols, consists in burning a miniature house with wooden figures of men and women on the 100th day after death. Symbolic money and clothes are also burned. The isolated and sanguinary Polynesians, among whom the savage rites of the old Aso-African religion continued to flourish in full luxuriance, while their sister tribes of Indonesia and Ultraindia were reformed by foreign influence, had a somewhat analogous practice. Small slips of the leaf-stalk of the plantain were placed under the arms and on the breast of the corpse who was informed that these were his family with whom he was to be satisfied in the world of spirits.

Adoption or fraternisation by the pledge of blood is Himalaic and West Indonesian. It is preserved by the Chinese in their secret societies and from its practice in other regions appears to have been one of the incidents of the old civilisation.

The system of self-pawning, another of the ancient Asiatic customs, has a similar development among most of the Himalaic and West Indonesian tribes.

The long house in which a whole community lives, is Himalaic (Mi-shni, Sing-pho, Bong-ju, Kuki &c.) and West Indonesian.

The native arms and accoutrements are the usual ones of the cognate tribes in Ultraindia and the islands, the forms of the sword, shields, quivers, cane helmets &c being the same.

The personal ornamentation follows the ordinary Himalaic and Indonesian fashion, in which heavy tiers of rings on the arms and legs and sometimes on the waist with enormously distended ear perforations are conspicuous.

The arts both of the highland and of the lowland or fluvial and coast Tibeto-Burmans are similar to the derivative West Indonesian.

The older history and the ethnic relations of the Kaya, like those of other unlettered tribes, must be chiefly sought in the unconscious autograph of the national language. I have no information respecting it except a vocabulary of 36 words which I obtained from Mr O'Riley some years ago and a smaller one of 19 words including numerals, with which he has now favoured me. The number of Karen vocables, or of vocables similar to the Karen but often in older forms, is very considerable. Several of these forms are broader than the Karen and resemble the less contracted Yuma forms and especially the Kumi. Even from this short vocabulary it is evident that the Kaya is a distinct and archaic dialect of the Yuma family. With Sgau, Pggho and Toungh-thu it may be considered as forming the Karen branch of that family—a branch in which the Mon-Anam influence has somewhat modified the proper Tibeto-Burman structure.

The guttural of the older Yuma and Mon-Anam prefix occurs with the softened dental form found also in Toungh-thu, *tah-* contracting to *ah-*.

The archaic dipthongal terminal vowel—usually indicating a

suppressed final consonant—is common in Kaya as in the Mon-Anam and older Tibeto-Burman dialects (Yuma &c.) e. g. nai 2, yai (for rai) 100, lai *ear*, thway *dog*, tai *bee*, nay *day*, pyai *man* (homo).

The Pronouns are not given in the vocabularies.

The Numerals are as follows :—

- 1 *ta-byai* (ta-ba Toung-thu, ta Sgau, ta-bi Manyak).
- 2 *thai-nai* (nai Takpa, ngai Cachari Bodo).
- 3 *thai-tho* (tok Ta-Shu, thong Burm.)
- 4 *thai-lwi* (lwe Ta-Shu, li-ba Toung-thu, lwi Sgau).
- 5 *thai-nya* (nga Ta-Shu, nga-ba Toung-thu, nga com.)
- 6 tho-tho = 3, 3 (thu Toung-thu, Bhotian, do Bodo).
- 7 tho-ta-byai = 6, 1 (s-ta-re Thochu).
- 8 lwi-tho.
- 9 lwi-tho-ta-byai.
- 10 she
- 100 ta-yai (ta-ya Toung-thu, a-ya Ta-Shu, ta-rah Khari &c).
- 1000 ta-re (ta-ye Toung-thu, a-le-ba Ta-Shu).

These forms are archaic in the vowels, but the final consonants preserved in some other dialects have been thrown off. The numbers above 5 are remarkable for the retention of the primitive full names. In my analysis of the Chino-Himalaic numerals I have shown that the primitive Chinese system was trinal, the first series being 1 ; 2 ; 2, 1 (=3) ; the second 3, 1 (=4) ; 3, 2 (=5) ; 3, 3 or 5, 1 (=6) ; the third 6, 1 (=7), with variations in 8 and 9 from their being named subtractively from 10. Kaya alone of all the known Chino-Himalaic tongues retains the full trinal *six*. *Seven* also retains both elements of the original trinal name, but the first in a contracted form tho for tho-tho. The name is remarkable for thus adhering to the Chinese trinal scale, because most of the Himalaic dialects have a quinary name (2 for 5, 2). That the trinal was the most ancient appears from its prevalence in Chinese and the Tibetan dialects of Bhotian, Thochu (ta for 1 as in Kaya) and Manyak. In the south it is Changlo, Lepcha, Milchanang, Mijhu, Nicobar and Mikir. The last retains the full form like Kaya, *the-rok* 6, *the-rok-si* 7. *Eight* is apparently 4, 3, that is, it is composed of two forms of the unit, that current in 4 and that current in 3. In the other Chino-Himalaic dialects it is either 2

or 1 and both forms are referable to 2, 10 (10 being the unit). Two explanations of the Kaya name may be suggested. The first appears to be that it is a contraction of a dual of 4 in its full form, tho-lwi (3, 1), i. e. tho-lwi—tho-lwi. The liquid form of the unit is found in several of the other dialects, but in these it represents 10 as in the full Dophla *p-lag-nag* (=10, 2). The second explanation is that lwi-tho is an archaic name for 10 with the dual thrown off as in most of the other dialects. The full name of 10 is a double unit, as in the Toung-thu *ta-tsi*. In some of the other Yuma dialects 10 has an archaic form of the unit preserved in 3; Kyau tchuom (thum 3), Kuki sum (tum 3, sum in other dialects). This explanation would also reconcile the Kaya 9 with the Chino-Himalaic, Scythic and Dravidian form (1, 10). In form it is apparently 8, 1, but if lwi-tho of 8 be 10, lwi tho-*ta-byai* is 10 [less] 1. The current 10 she appears to be a modern Burman acquisition.

The relations of the miscellaneous vocables may be inferred from the subjoined comparisons.

Air lwun; Lau lom, lon, Bhotian lung; (Karen, Yuma &c. li.)

Day ta-nay; Jili ta-na, Kambojan gr. ta-ngai, Mon ta-ngwai.

Earth he-khu; Sgau ho ko, ha kho.

Ear kah-lai; Kumi, ka-na, Karen &c na.

Bone ah-khwit; Karen ghur, ghi, Chinese khut (*foot* a-kok Kumi, *arm* khut Kuki, Manipuri &c).

Arm chun; Karen choe, Toung-thu to-tsu, (*hand* Kar. tshu, Toung-thu tsu, Nagaung ta-tsung).

Cat th'ho; Kumi min-cho, Maring &c, tung, tok &c.

Dog thway; Toung-thu thwe, Kar. thwi.

Buffalo pah nai; Karen, Toung-thu pa-na, pai-nai.

Elephant tah tha; Karen ka-sha (Malay ga-ja).

Deer tah-kho, Sgau ta-kha.

Egg aho; Karen di, Kumi tui, dui (i. e. *water* or *liquid*, the full Himalaic name being "bird's water.")

Boat tsaw; Malung ye-sang, Tablung ih-sang, Toung-thu tsen-lan.

Man pyai kho; Sgau po khwa, Ta-shu pakho, Toung-thu lo kho; the guttural is Chinese and Lau.

Woman pyai mo; Sgau, Ta-shu po mu, Toung-thu lo mu.

Black u-luk-kesh; Milchanang rok; luk occurs in the Khari name for *blue*.

Road ha-lai; Toung-thu k-lai, Sgau k-le, Mon ga-lan; com. form lam.

I subjoin an extract from the unpublished portion of my "Ethnology &c." It was written some time ago and has not been revised with reference to the later results of my comparisons of the Himalaic dialects, but I give it as it stands because the characters that distinguish Karen from the western branch of the family are attributed to a cause that harmonises with the Kaya tradition of their former migrations. According to it their original country was Pagan, where they appear to have been associated with Chinese, when they were driven forth by the Burmese.*

The difference between Burman and the other southern Irawady dialects is found, on further examination, to extend to other traits also. Karen even in its Chinese characters has had a development so independent and peculiar that it must have long preceded Burman in the middle and lower valley of the Irawadi. Toung-thu in its vocabulary and phonology is merely a dialect of Karen. The Yuma, Manipuri and Naga dialects are so closely related to them glossarially as to shew that, before they assumed their Chinoid form, they belonged mainly to this group although their northern position gave them a Brahmaputran element also. Some of the special characters of Burman indicate the retention of a more northern position to a later period and a special connection with Manyak, Abor, Bodo.

The change which took place in Karen extends, in various slighter degrees, to the dialects on the western side of the valley. It is chiefly traceable in that portion of the western half of the basin which is nearest to the Chinese section of the eastern half. The former is now occupied by the Manipuri and Angami tribes and it is probable that the latter as well as the intermediate valley of the Irawadi was the country of the Karens when their language

* The attempts to apply several of the names in Marco Polo's geography beginning with Kar or Kara, to the Karens appear to me to have been unsuccessful. The names are Turkish and the countries and tribes lie to the north of the Himalayas. Kara *black* is a common qualitative in Turkish Geographical names — *Black* River, *Black* mountain &c.

first assumed its Chinoid form. An examination of the progress and course of the emasculated Ultraindian dialects must begin with Karen.

The southern Karen dialects are less Burman in their ideology than the Yuma, owing probably to the latter being embraced and partly interpenetrated by the Burman of Arakan and the Irawadi, and to the Karens having long intermixed with the Mons, and perhaps with other tribes of the older formation, before the Burmans descended into the middle and lower Irawadi. The Karen follows the Mon-Anam formation in placing the object after the action, the directive before and the demonstrative as well as the qualitative after the substantive. But the possessor precedes the object possessed as in Burman and Chinese.*

In its possession of six tones it resembles the Chinese and Mon-Anam languages. Its glossarial affinities, on the other hand, are very slight with the Mon-Anam tongues in general and very numerous with the Tibeto-Burman. With Mon it has special affinities evidently attributable to long contact.

Karen is more vocalic than Burman, having discarded all the consonantal finals save *ng*. The roots have also a more contracted form, but the prefixed definitives are retained to a much greater extent. In general however they do not appear to be phonetically united with the root, so that the vocabulary has a monosyllabic character. In some cases the prefix coalesces with the root as in Burman. One of the dialectic distinctions between Karen and Burman is that the former prefers prefixual *p-* to the *m-* of the latter, as in *pla*, K. *mra* B. *arrow*. In Burman we find:—*mrang*, horse; *myauk*, monkey; *mrach*, river; *mrwe*, snake; in

* For some examples of Karen I am indebted to the friendly interposition of the Very Revd P. Bigandet, accompanied by notes obligingly furnished by one of the French Missionaries to the Tenasserim Karens, since the previous chapters were printed. I believe a grammar of one of the dialects has been printed by the American Missionaries, but I have not hitherto been successful in my endeavours to procure a copy. The Karen dialects have long been in contact with Siamese or Lau, both in Tenasserim and along the whole Karen belt as far as the confines of Yun-nan. It is possible therefore that the Chino-Ultraindian character has been partly superinduced by Siamese influence. In the notes with which I have been favoured it is remarked that the Karen words which are derived from the Burman are perhaps more numerous than those which come from the Siamese at least on the west side of the Peninsula. But the Siamese words are understood by all, which is not the case with those of Burman origin. This remark must apply to the modern Burman accessions and not to the numerous roots which enter into the common glossarial basis of the Karen and Burman as of the cognate dialects.

Karen *pna*, *buffalo*; *pga man*; *plong man*. *Pa*, *p*, is also found in Mon. It is less prevalent in Karen than *ka* or *ta*, but it occurs in Tibetan, Naga-Manipuri, Singpho and the Gangetic languages. Karen, with the allied Yuma dialects, affects *ka* which it sometimes unites with the root in the form *h*, *kh*. In Kumi also both *p* and *h* or *kh* frequently remain vocalised as in Mon, Kasia and the Naga-Gangetic languages. *Air* K. *khli*, *ka-li*, Lungkhe *hhle*, Kumi *ka-li*, Kyau *a-li*; *boat*, K. *kli*, Burm. *lhe*; *elephant* K. *hsha ka-tsha*, *ka-tshan*, Kumi, *ku-shai*. The number of vocalic monosyllables is much greater than in any of the other Tibeto-Ultraiindian dialects, but if the prefixes be rejected the Angami and Manyak vocabularies approach it in this respect. The roots are often reduced to single vowels. Ex. *ó* with the inflected tone is *to be* and *to have*, *o* with the same tone is *to eat*, *o* with the natural tone is *to drink*; *e* with different tones is *to bite* and *to love*. *Me* with different tones signifies a *tooth*, *blackish*, a *sail*, a *cutaneous disease*, the *eye*, *sand*, *name*, a *tail*.

I have no information respecting the Toung-thu ideology. The vocabulary has very little affinity with the Mon-Anam, although like Karen it has acquired some Mon words. It has a very large agreement with Karen, and most of the words that are not common to it and Karen, are Yuma, Naga-Manipuri, Singpho, Aka &c. Its special Burman affinities are not numerous and appear in general to be of comparatively modern acquisition. In its greater use of prefixes *ta* (sometimes *tat*) and *a* chiefly, it is more faithful to the Gyarung, Naga-Manipuri and Yuma structure than Karen. *Ta* is the principal prefix in Gyarung and some of the Naga-Manipuri dialects, Karen and the Yuma vocabularies like Mon affecting the older guttural form *ka*. It is further distinguished from Karen and Burman by its Yuma tendency to double vowels and the more frequent occurrence of nasal finals. From the paucity of peculiar vocables and the general range of its affinities Toung-thu must be considered as merely one of the dialects of Karen. It probably preceded the Sgau and Pwo or has remained more secluded. Where it differs from Karen it often has Yuma forms, e. g.

Ant T. *ton tsa*, Karen *tung*, Khyeng *pa-lein tsa*

Boat T. *tsen lan*, Khyeng *laung*

Day T. *ta-neo*, Kh. *ta-ni*

Egg *a-thi*, Kh. *a-tui*, Lungke *wa-ti* &c

Iron *tai*, Kar. *tha*, Kh. *thi*, Mon *ka-swai*

Mountain *koung*, Kh. *kon*, Kumi *ta-kung*

Mr Hodgson's Toung-lhu vocabulary is Toung-thu with a few variations.

The pronouns have some peculiarities. The 1st is *ya* in the sing. and *pa* in the pl. (*pa-we* nom. *pa-ta* poss.). *Ya* is a soft or contracted form of the Tibeto-Ultraindian *nga*, *ngya*, *nye* &c. as in the Pwo *ya fish* for *nya*. The labial is not Tibetan. It appears to be a Mon-Anam remnant. Mon has *pwa ve*. The 2nd pron. is *na* sing., *thu* pl. *Na* is one of the Bhotian forms of the Tibeto-Ultraindian *nga*. *Thu* appears to be the dental Tibeto-Ultraindian plural particle. The 3rd pron. is *awe*, a form of the common labial 3rd pron. and def. corresponding by its vowel with the Angami *me*, Takpa *pe*, *be*. The same form occurs as the plural postfix in the 1st and 2nd pron. *pa-we*, *thu-we*. Mozome Angami in like manner has *me he* &c, *awe ve*. The Karen pl. of the 3rd pron. combines the 2 roots *awe* the ("he-he" &c). The Tablung *tau* "I" is an example of the 3rd pron. used for the 1st even in the sing., and *tau-pa he* of the double root in the sing. In the Tengsa *te-be-pa* "they" (*pa he*) the labial root occurs twice. The Naga dialects have examples of the arbitrary use of different roots in the sing. and pl. Muthun *ku I*, *ta-ile me* (a 3rd pron. with a pl. postf.) Nagaung *pa he*, *yan they*. Khari *pan he*, *tung-khala they*. Mozome Angami *me he*, *to-the-te they*. In the poss. of the 2d pron. the pron. is prefixed in a contracted form to the poss. *n-ta Sgau*, *n-tshu Pwo*. The same form is used with assertives. The pronoun is always preposed when used assertively and in Sgau the 1st takes a different root *tsa* which appears to be a root of the 3rd pron. as in Tablung (*tau*). The directive of the perfect, *li*, follows the root, and that of the future, *ka*, precedes it. The negative form preposes *ta* in Sgau as in several of the Naga dialects and *la* in Pwo, while both postpose *ba*, the common Tibeto-Ultraindian negative particle. In the same way *no* is expressed by preposing *la* and postposing *ba* to the affirmative particle *me*, *ta me ba Sgau*, *la mwoi ba Pwo*.

The 1st pron. of Toung-thu *khwa* has the broad Yuma and Lau

form. The 2nd na is Karen (Yuma nang, nan) the 3rd wa is a broad form of the Karen. The plural of the 2nd and 3rd postfix the slender form of the Karen *the* pl. of the 2nd.

The numeral forms are very mixed, but they chiefly adhere to those of the first Tibetan and of the Mon-Anam migrations. The current unit of *one* is of the latest great Tibetan migration, while that of *ten* is the Gangetic slender variety of the same form.

	Sgau (Crawford)	Pwo
1	ta, tu	ta- <i>ple</i> ka du
2	khi	ki- <i>ple</i> ni
3	thu	the- <i>ple</i> thun
4	lwi	lui- <i>ple</i> li
5	ye	ye- <i>ple</i> yei
6	ghu	ku- <i>ple</i> ghu
7	nwi	nui- <i>ple</i> nwi
8	gho'	kho- <i>ple</i> gho'
9	khwi	kui- <i>ple</i> khwi
10	ta tshi	ta si ka tshi

The gut. unit of 6 (1 for 5, 1, or 3 for 3, 3) and of 8, (1 for 10 in 2, 10)—ghu, ku, gho, kho is equally archaic with that of 9 (1 for 1, 10) khwi, and is a remnant of the earliest Tibeto-Burman system of which strong traces are found in the Abor group &c

The Mon-Anam liquid unit is preserved in the Maplu dialect na-du, and Play lay-du, in 10 lay-tsi, forms of the Mon-Anam unit similar to that of the 3 of Kasia lai, (9 dai) and of Bongju rai and Mijhu lei in 5 (3, 2) The unit of 100 ta ka ya = ta ka ra is also the Mon-Anam liquid, in the com. Yuma and Burman form ta-ra Burm., Kam. ta-ya Sak &c.

The unit of 1 ta, tai du is a contraction of the later prevalent form, as in hha-tu, ha-tang of the Tengsa gr., and similar to the other Yuma forms. The slender form 10 tshi, si found also in Toung-thu is probably from Burman, as the Yuma dialects have older names. The Bodo-Singpho band has this form in 10, and as 1 it is the latest Chino-Himalaic form.

The unit has in 4 the archaic form lwi or lui corresponding with the Chepang loi, Kumi lu; in 7 the dual has a similar form nwi, nui as in the Toung-thu nwot, Kumi ru, Limbu nu. This form like the unit of 6 and 8, belongs to the first Tibeto-Burman system in the south.

The Sgau khi 2 is peculiar. It may be a native modification of *ngi*, or it may be the prefix (comp. Garo *gi-ni*.)

Ye, yei, yai 5 may be from *nge*, *ngai*, the com. form, or *le*, *lei*, *lai* as in *Mijhu* and *Bongju*, both *ng* and *l* changing to *y* in *Karen*.

The vocabulary, especially that of *Pwo*, has received a considerable number of words from *Burman*, but its native ingredients are *Yuma*, *Manipuri Naga* and *Brahmaputran* more than *Burman*. It has also affinities with *Singpho* which are not shared by *Burman*.

It has several Tibetan words,—*Bhotian*, *Thochu* &c.—not common in the southern dialects, from which it is probable that in its basis it was one of the oldest dialects of the southern migration. Thus for *sun* it has the *Thochu mu* and not the common *ni*, *nam*; for *horse* and *ant* *Bhotian* words found in very few of the other southern dialects; for *hair* the broad *Thochu foria*. The prefix is *Gyarung* and it has many slender vocables *Sifan* and not *Chinese* in phonology.

It may be concluded that in its older form it was one of the northern and primary *Irawado-Brahmaputran* dialects, having special affinities with the present southern groups and amongst them the *ka* prefix of the *Yuma* dialects. It was probably one of the earliest of the northern dialects to receive the later *Sifan* form. It appears to have then spread south coming under *Chinese* influence. The southern *Yuma* dialects appear to be simply less modified dialects of the same group with *Karen*, that is, they preserve the form which *Karen* itself had when they separated from it and preceded it in the spread of the group to the southward. *Karen* remained in the north to a later period and has a large admixture of the same *Brahmaputran* glossary that is the principal ingredient in *Burman*. Some of the *Brahmaputran* forms are similar to the *Burman*, but the greater number are different, having independent representatives in the *Naga*, *Singpho*, *Mishmi*, *Abor*, *Garó* and *Nipal* vocabularies.

The highly monosyllabic, vocalic and tonic character of *Karen* appears to have been caused by long and intimate connection with *Chinese*. That it came directly and deeply under the influence of that language and did not receive its *Chinese* element through *Burman* is further shown by the *Chinese* vocables which it has

acquired. Several of these are also found in the Naga-Manipuri dialects, and when the greater approximation of Karen to Chinese is considered it becomes probable that the Karens were at one period the dominant tribe in the valley of the Irawadi, occupying the position which the Burmans now hold, and being in contact with the Chinese and Lau on the one side and with the Naga-Manipuri and Yuma tribes on the other. The east and north Manipurian dialects and the adjacent Angami have more of the Karen phonology than the other dialects of this tract. But at the ancient period to which the Chinese ingredient in Karen must be referred, there are no grounds for supposing that the Chinese occupied a more influential position in any part of the basin of the Irawadi than they have done in later times. They first planted colonies amongst the native tribes of Yun-nan during the Han dynasty (B. C. 200 to A. D. 220). The progress of their authority and of their civilisation has been very gradual in that province, and they do not appear to have ever established their government to the westward of their present boundary with Burmah. The southern part of Yun-nan is occupied by Lau tribes, and some Lau towns are marked in the map of that province even east of the Lukiang (Salwin). It is probable that the western projecting portion of Yun-nan lying on the eastern feeders of the Irawadi—the Pinlang and the Lung-chuen or Shue-ly—which advances nearly to the Irawadi and through which the great trading route to Burmah lies, was included in the TibetoBurman and not in the Lau province, prior to its occupation by the Chinese. The peculiar character of the language of the Karen would be accounted for if they were the tribe that possessed the vallies of the Shue-ly when the Chinese pushed their boundary forward towards the Irawadi. The western and southern movement of the Karens which brought them, after the language had been modified by the Chinese, into contact with the Naga-Manipuri tribes and with the Mon, was probably the consequence of one of those determined but unsuccessful revolts against the authority of the conquerors of Yun-nan of which the Chinese annals speak. We may expect to find branches or remnants of the Karens in those parts of western Yun-nan and the Burman territory to the south of it on the Salwin basin, in which the native tribes are known to maintain their own manners and a high degree of independence to this day.

MR O'RILEY'S

VOCABULARIES OF KAYA.

1st Voc..

<i>Air</i>	lwun
<i>Arm</i>	chun
	kyau
<i>Bad</i>	ah-lah-tu
<i>Bell</i>	ah-ta-ka-lau
<i>Belly</i>	hwae
<i>Bitter</i>	ah-chai
<i>Black</i>	u-luk-kesh
<i>Blue</i>	lu-pu-tsaw
<i>Boat</i>	tsaw
<i>Bone</i>	ah-khwit
<i>Bee</i>	tow-tai
<i>Book</i>	tu-bu-li
<i>Boy</i>	pah-tsai-phu
<i>Brass</i>	tah-li-pgah
<i>Buffalo</i>	pah-nai
<i>Burn</i>	mi-ku
<i>Cat</i>	htho
<i>Child</i>	hta-mu
<i>Chin</i>	hta-mu
<i>Cloud</i>	saw-ah-la
<i>Cold</i>	ka-yeau
<i>Copper</i>	tah-le-lie
<i>Daughter</i>	puph
<i>Day</i>	ta-nay
<i>Death</i>	tsa-tah-pyah
<i>Deer</i>	toh-kho
<i>Demon</i>	lo-ah
<i>Dig</i>	sha-lu
<i>Dog</i>	thway
<i>Drink</i>	aye (ā Kar.)
<i>Ear</i>	kah-lai (Kumi)

<i>Earth</i>	he-khu (Kar.)
<i>East</i>	thie-thay (Burm.)
<i>Eat</i>	aye (a Karen.)
<i>Egg</i>	dho (di Kar.).
<i>Elephant</i>	tah-ta
2 ND Voc.	
<i>Man</i>	pyai-kho
<i>Woman</i>	pyai-mo
<i>Wife</i>	nyai-pa-to
<i>Silver</i>	sha
<i>Road</i>	ka-lai
<i>Rice (boiled)</i>	ai (aing 'Toung-thu)
<i>Betelnut</i>	mar-mu-ta (Shan ma-me).
<i>Clock</i>	man-ya-ku

JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO KAREN-NEE FOR THE PURPOSE OF
OPENING A TRADING ROAD TO THE SHAN TRADERS FROM
MOBYAY AND THE ADJACENT SHAN STATES, THROUGH
THAT TERRITORY DIRECT TO TOUNGOO.

By EDWARD O'RILEY, Esq. F. G. S.

Nov. 6, 1856.—Having concluded my arrangements for carrying out the instructions of the Commissioner of Pegu with reference to proceeding to Karen-Nee, by a road to be opened through the Pong Loun Ranges, to the eastward of Toungoo, by which the Shan traders from Mobyay, Monay-Mokenai and the other contiguous Shan States will be enabled to bring their trade direct to Toungoo,⁽¹⁾ I despatched the elephants and baggage to the west landing place at Myo Gyee, about 2 miles below the city, and proceeded by boat to that point, thence by the brick pathway to the Myat-tsan-nee-noung Pagodas, where I halted to make arrangements with the Karens of “Htou-Hpo” to clear and widen the road to their location in a N. E. direction into the Pong Loun ranges.

Our party consists of 4 Commissariat elephants with their attendants, 10 armed Burmans who have been instructed in tent pitching, the two Karen Na-Khans⁽²⁾ (Moung Quay Luy and Moung-Hpo,) Oo-twai the blood-sucker⁽³⁾ and two peons, the Myo-Oke of Bommodee (Oo-Moung) who accompanies us to the eastern border of his district, and a few hired coolies (Burmese):—

Course from Myo Gye.....E. S. E.

Distance* 3½ miles.

Nov. 7.—The Karens of Htou-Hpo having been employed on the road for the last week report it completed to the Karen village to the eastward of their own.

Started from the Pagodas;—at ½ a mile N. E. crossed the Pyoou-Khyoung falling into the Thouk-yai-Khat-Khyoung to the south.

At 2½ miles crossed the Kyet-thoung-Khyoung } feeders of the
At 4½ miles crossed the Kyouk-pa-te-Khyoung } Thouk-yai-khat.
Halted at the Karen village of H'tou-h'po on the east of the stream.

* The distances were taken by a Perambulator, and an allowance being made for altitude, the result is given as the estimated distance.

Course N. E.—estimated distance 4 miles.

The last 2 miles over low hills forming the base of the lateral spurs from the higher ranges, the formation being uniformly quartzose sandstone, laterite and granite (porphyritic) all in fragmentary masses.

Paid the Karens employed on the road to this village (62 men); each received one rupee and a gaung-boung (muslin turban) with which they appear to be highly satisfied.

Thermometer 6 A. M. 57°

do. 6 P. M. 73°

Nov. 8.—After leaving halting place, at a $\frac{1}{2}$ mile recrossed the Kyouk-pa-te-Khyoung and proceeded up its course through a deep alluvial valley, forming the old clearings of the Karens of H'tou-h'po.

At $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles crossed the Koon-Khyoung, an affluent of the Thouk-yai-khat, thence across a series of low hills to halting place at the juncture of two mountain streams called "Khyoung-h'neel-gwa." The road since leaving the valley of the Kyouk-pa-te across hills of higher altitude than those of yesterday, a considerable distance being up the water courses, the base affording no space for a road.

Course nearly E. N. E.—estimated distance $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

Thermometer 6 A. M. 54°

Do 6 P. M. 72°

Sunday, Nov. 9.—Remained at halting place. The Karens from H'tou-h'po, who have accompanied us, are Christians of the Baptist Mission, and they with a number of Karens from the next Christian village of Bah-mo have assembled here for the performance of the Sabbath service, a Karen Teacher from the latter village presiding as Minister. Divine worship performed three times during the day.

Nov. 10.—From halting place, passed up the bed of the stream for $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, thence up the steep face of one of the series of lateral spurs abutting on the main ranges, from the top of which, at an altitude of about 1,600 feet, the valley of the Sitang was visible, the Toungoo Pagoda bearing due West. Course along the ridge and descended to the Hun-ga-louk Khyoung, a mountain stream running South into the Thouk-yai-khat:—

Course E. N. E.—estimated distance $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Many parts of the road to-day passing along the steep side of the hills, with foot space barely sufficient for the elephants, it was necessary to halt frequently to scarp the bank to a sufficient width to allow the elephants to pass freely, and thus provide a passage for loaded bullocks.

Nov. 11.—One of the elephants having been scared during the night by a tiger, broke away from his chain and escaped into the thick jungle of the lower valley. At daylight sent two of the elephants in search of him and was detained until near noon before they returned with the stray one;—loaded the elephants and started. The road from halting place up a moderately steep ascent of about 2,000 feet and thence along the ridge, from the top of which the valley of the Sitang lay open to the view, Toungoo bearing a little to the South of West—the whole of the hill series to the Westward which separate the Sitang from the valley of the Irrawaddy more visible from this point, forming a magnificent panoramic scene. Descended to the base of the lower ranges and along their flanks to halting place at the Karen village of “The-yai-yo” on a fine mountain stream the “Mai-ga-thoung,” running S. E. into the “Thouk-yai-khat :—

Course E. N. E.—estimated distance 2 miles.

This is a Christian village of the American Baptist Mission with a population of 218 souls ; it has a chapel and a Karen Teacher (De-tipo) who resides here. The situation of this village is exceedingly beautiful ; the mountains which almost surround it rise from the platform on which the village stands, to a height of from 2,000 to 2,500 feet, forming a natural amphitheatre of the grandest dimensions. The surrounding hill sides have been converted into “Toung-yas” (upland cultivation) and only in patches on the mountain tops and in the gorges down which the stream courses amongst huge granite boulders, is any of the primeval forest visible ; and this, interspersed with clumps of the Areca Palm, planted by the Karens near the water courses, completes a picture of wild and solemn beauty.

The Tsan-kai (Karen chief) of the village of Kyet-Teik situated at a distance of a day's journey to the north, came to the camp to-day and stated that the whole of the village had been destroyed by fire from accident, that two men who were sick had perished in

the flames and others were badly scorched. The whole of the community, consisting of seventy-one families, having lost their paddy and all other articles of subsistence, were thus rendered destitute and incapable of meeting the payment of government tax, from which they prayed to be released; their petition was accordingly granted, and a small sum given to each family to enable them to provide present means of subsistence (4).

Nov. 12.—The road from the village of The-yai-yo had been cut by the Karens up the steep face of the mountain, instead of along the flank at a more easy ascent, so that the elephants had a very laborious task to reach the summit at a height of about 800 feet. The road being too steep to admit of laden cattle proceeding by it, I requested the Eing Thoogyee to open one of easier ascent, which he promised to have ready before I return, that across the hill having been cut without a knowledge of the purpose for which it is required.

Proceeded along the ridge and descended its northern side. At $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile crossed the Kyouk-ta-da mountain stream, a feeder of the "Thouk-yai-khat," thence through the Karen cultivations of "Mai-ga-doong" to the village on the mountain stream of that name which drains the hills of this locality and falls into the Thouk-yai-khat.

Course E. N. E.—estimated distance $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

This is also a Christian village with a community larger than that of "The-yai-yo;" it possesses a chapel and school, over which a Karen Teacher of the Baptist Mission presides.

November 13.—The road from this point eastward is not yet opened; to effect which and carry it on continuously through the locations of the "Yaings" it is necessary to collect the several chiefs of the tribes and make them understand the object. I have accordingly despatched messengers and Oo-twai with presents to each of them, desiring them to meet me at this place. Shifted my tent to the top of a hill to the Eastward and found the altitude by the boiling point to be 2,794 feet.

Ther. 6 A. M. 65°, 1 P. M. 84°, 6 P. M. 73°.

Nov. 14.—*Ther.* 6 A. M. 63°, 1 P. M. 82°, 6 P. M. 75°.

Several heavy showers during the day.

Nov. 15.—*Ther.* 6 A. M. 67°, 1 P. M. 85°, 6 P. M. 73°.

The chiefs of the tribes of the Ley-pya-gye and Ley-pya-ngay arrived in camp to-day from their locations in the higher ranges to the N. E. ; they belong to a separate section of these Karen tribes and call themselves Pway-kau-tah. In appearance they are more robust and better made than the Karens of this locality—their language is a dialect of the generic form of that in use throughout the whole of the tribes. In dress they also differ, wearing a short pair of drawers reaching half way down the thigh instead of the tunic, the single covering of the tribes nearer the valley of the Sitang;—from this peculiarity of dress they are styled “trouser-wearing” Karens, by the Burmese.

I was a good deal surprised at the visit of these chiefs, because about four months ago, a report was made to me of their having seized a man of this tribe Mai-ga-doong whom they refused to restore unless redeemed by the payment of five Kye-dzeis ⁽⁵⁾ (a form of brass gong made by the Shans). A message from me that they should restore the man and prefer any complaint they had to make to myself, had also failed in effect, and I was told that they were opposed to my making a road in their locality and would prevent it. Expecting to have encountered some opposition from these chiefs, I was agreeably surprised to find them at my tent uninvited, and on bringing the matter of the seizure and detention of the man of this tribe before them, they acknowledged its truth, stating that he was detained for the payment of a debt of two Kye-dzeis due to them from the people of Mai-ga-doong, and that owing to the long period since it was incurred, upwards of thirty years ago, they demanded five Kye-dzeis for his release. I then informed them of our law and system of administering justice, by which they had no right to seize the body or property of any man, and that their complaints of whatever nature would be attended to if made through the proper channel or to myself personally ; they declared that they had not treated my message as represented, but that the man who brought it behaved in so arrogant a manner that they refused to listen to him, that hearing of my intention to proceed into the hills they had waited for the opportunity to come and receive my orders in person, and finally, that if I so desired it they would at once restore the man to his tribe. With regard to the road they

informed me that beyond their own locality it was too difficult for elephants to pass; and that scarcely a single man of their tribe had gone across the highest range, fearing to be caught by the Yaings of those mountains, who seize and sell into slavery all persons of other tribes they can lay hold of; they promised to restore the man at once and to search for a passage through the high range and if found, will meet me on the Thouk-yai-khat stream and shew me the road. Having evinced so good a disposition I made each a present, with something additional to the chiefs, and they returned to their village rejoicing.

Sunday Nov. 16.—Ther. 6 A. M. 56°, 1 P. M. 80°, 6 P. M. 74°.

Several Chiefs of "Yaings" from the N. E. arrived during the day, who with the people accompanying them appeared to be much interested in the performance of divine worship by the Mai-ga-doong people. The scripture being read by the Teacher in the "Sgau Karen" dialect I enquired of several of the Yaings whether they understood it, they replied that many of the words were similar to their own language, but they were ignorant of the general import of what they heard, but that they would be glad to be taught to read in their own tongue that they might become like those who had professed Christianity.

Nov. 17—Ther. 6 A. M. 67°, 1 P. M. 85°, 6 P. M. 76°.

The whole of the Karens who came in yesterday assembled at my tent, and I explained to them the object of my presence in the mountains—they expressed great pleasure at my coming and intimated their willingness to open a road through their hills and that they would return and await my arrival before commencing it, lest they made it in a wrong direction, or up too steep an acclivity for the elephants. My stock of Cotton Goods having been nearly expended in payment to the road-makers to this place, I was compelled to dismiss the people to their villages with a promise of payment and presents on my arrival amongst them.

Made payment to the Karens employed in opening the road from Hun-galouk-khyoung to this place—162 men—each receiving a Rupee and a Goung-boung.

Nov. 18.—Previous to starting for their village the chiefs of Ley-pya-gyee and Ley-pay-guay requested that Oo-twai should accompany them to a village of the "Yaings," at a day's journey

in the mountains to the northward, where two men of their tribe had been detained for upwards of a year; their request was granted and Oo-twai was despatched with some presents and a small sum of money to induce the "Yaings" to restore the men and accompany him back to my camp.

The Na-khau-quay-lay who accompanied the Yaings on their return to their homes yesterday, has sent in a party of "Bla-kyee" (Yaings from the high range of the Terapei-nye-noung) with a message stating that other tribes situated high up in the range could point out a road to be opened round the base of the mountains to the northward, but that they refused to meet him. He requests therefore that some presents of handkerchiefs, beads and silver coin be sent him to induce them to come in; which are accordingly sent. The road beyond the central range is reported to be less difficult than that from Toungoo to this, being probably the higher plateau of the Table land of Karen-Nee.

Ther. 6 A. M. 65, 1 P. M. 84, 6 P. M. 73.

Nov. 19.—The Eeng-thai-gyee with a few of the head men of the Karens of "Pa-way" at the source of the Thouk-yai-khat-khyoung in the direction of the intended road, arrived at the camp—they belong to the Pagoh or "Yaings." They complain of an attack having been made upon their village by people from 8 villages of their own class, five days ago. The chief informs me that these people are the wildest and most untrustable of the whole of the Karen races, and are the dread not only of his own people, who are of the same tribe, but of all the surrounding clans as far as Karen-Nee—that before attacking his village they sent a message to him inviting him to join them in an attack upon myself and party when approaching their locations, stating that I had brought a large amount of gold and silver with other valuable property which would be divided amongst the attacking party—to this proposal he would not consent and has come in to warn me of the intentions of these people. These villages three years ago attacked the Shan traders whom attempting the passage to Toungoo through their locations, killed a number of the men and dispersed their bullocks and ponies, some of which are said still to be seen in the less frequented part of the valleys of the central high ranges. It is said that they obtained a large amount of plunder on that occasion.

After taking down the chief's statement in Burmese, I sent him back to his village, giving to himself and companions a present each of a red turban and half a rupee. I requested him to let the turbulent portions of his tribe know that my intentions were peaceful and tended to confer a benefit upon them, as those of the Yaings who had come to my camp could testify, that I had heard of their wicked intentions towards me, and was fully prepared to receive them in the character of robbers and murderers, and that on the first demonstration of hostility towards myself and party I would inflict a punishment upon them that should strike with terror the hearts of all their tribe.

Under the Burman government these tribes of the Pagoh section of the Yaings were never subdued, refusing on all occasions the payment of tribute of every kind, and not infrequently putting to death any Burman petty official who had the temerity to approach their locations; nor is this to be wondered at when it is remembered that the Burman government was known to these wild races only as a remorseless tyranny, from which, as opportunity offered, they experienced acts of the most cold blooded atrocity. Without a personal knowledge of us, it is but reasonable therefore that these poor wretches should still entertain the same opinion of the dominant power, and it therefore becomes a duty of mercy to exercise a forbearance towards them and propitiate them with acts of kindness that their ignorance be removed.

Having only ten muskets with me I have deemed it prudent however to send for an additional twenty stand of arms, a volley from which, should circumstances demand it, will disperse all the tribes of Yaings that may be within sound of it.

Ther. 6 A. M. 64°, 1 P. M. 86°, 6 P. M. 73°,—with dense fog up to 10 A. M.

November 20—Ascended the range of hills to the west of the camp for the purpose of taking a bearing of Toungoo. After a most tiresome and difficult ascent of two hours owing to the steepness of the path, reached the summit, which gave an altitude by the boiling point of 4,132 feet. From this point only a portion of the Sitang valley south of Toungoo was visible, a still higher range intervening in the direction of Toungoo, which from known localities within view was estimated to bear about W. by S. from my position.

Looking Eastward the scene was exceedingly grand and imposing, the main ranges of the Pong Loun, at a distance of 12 to 15 miles, forming a complete barrier to the outline in that direction, while the lower hills at the altitude of my camp rise abruptly in the wildest confusion without any general direction, upon which several Karen villages are seen, each possessing a well defined area of Toun-ya cultivation.

Thermometer 6 A. M. 62°, 1 P. M. 83°, 6 P. M. 75°.

November 21—The Karen messengers returned from Toungoo with dispatches &c received by the mail. Several head men of villages to the south came in, requesting remissions of their tax on account of individuals who are sick and otherwise incapacitated from labor, which was granted. A general request for medicines was made, but having brought only a small stock of febrifuge medicines for my own party I was unable to attend to their requisitions.

Thermometer 6 A. M. 60°, 1 P. M. 81°, 6 P. M. 73°.

November 22—The old Shan (Oo-myat), who left Toungoo upwards of a month ago for the purpose of tracing the line of road through the Eastern Karen locations, and for whose safety I entertained strong fears, returned to-day to camp accompanied by Kwoon Tee, the son of the chief of Karen-Nee and eight other chiefs of tribes of the Yaings east of the Yomah, (7) through whose country the road will pass. They all expressed their willingness to open the road, but require an advance of 100 rupees each and a portion of cotton goods to distribute amongst their people ;—this as simplifying the work I have consented to, at the same time instructing them to carry the line at the lowest and easiest levels round the base instead of across the high ranges, which they have promised to attend to. These chiefs are in some measure subject to the influence of Kyay-h'po-gye, to whom however they pay no tax, but acknowledge his authority merely—they express their gratification at my passage through their country and state that they will keep the road permanently open and afford every assistance to the Shan traders who may proceed by it to Toungoo. For their ready acquiescence in my plans I have given to each a present of red cloth.

A number of Red Karens have accompanied the chief's son, but

in appearance they resemble the Yaing tribes so exactly that I conclude them to be of the same race, although I am informed that their language differs materially.

Ther. 6 A. M. 64°, 1 P. M. 85°, 6 P. M. 76°.

November 23—Sunday.—Sent in an elephant to Toungoo with despatches, and for the purpose of obtaining additional supplies to enable me to proceed to “Karen-Nee.”

The Karen Missionary San Qua-lah, arrived at this place two days ago and presides over the Sabbath service, the whole of the community (adults) being converts to his faith (Am. Baptist)

Ther. 6 A. M. 64°, 1 P. M. 81°, 6 P. M. 72°.

November 24.—Kwoon Tee, son of the chief of the Red Karens, with eight chiefs of the Yaings who have accompanied him, returned to their villages this morning—they will search for the easiest points of passage across the Yo-mah and on my arriving at their villages, should I approve of the line, they will assemble the whole of their people and open the roads. Arranged with the Yaing Chiefs to advance to each Rs. 120 and a portion of cotton goods, to complete a road through their several locations eastward of the Yomah, the distance being computed at 20 tungs or 40 miles. Intend moving camp to-morrow along the road completed to the Thouk-yai-khat khyoung where other chiefs of the Yaings purpose meeting me. Engaged a number of the Karens of this village, Mai-ga-doong, to carry the portion of the baggage which forms the load of the elephant sent to Toungoo.

Two of the Karen Na-khan's people from the village of Banga-le attacked with small pox and one of the Red Karen Yaing chiefs suffering from a severe attack of fever; gave them some medicine, adapted to their respective ailments, and sent them back to their houses.

Ther. 6 A. M. 62°, 1 P. M. 78°, 6 P. M. 68°.

A. lower range of the temperature in consequence of the setting in of the N. E. wind.

Nov. 25.—Crossed the Mega-doo khyoung at the base of the hill (camp),—course over several low riges to the “Pa-ee-loo” Khyoung at 2½ miles from the halting place (a feeder of the Thouk-yai-khat.)

That stream forms the boundary between the locations of Mounge Dine and Mai-go-doo (⁸).—The latter part of the road across a high range of 2,200 feet to halting place at its base on the Thouk-yai-khat-khyoung. The stream which receives the drainage of the subordinate ranges west of the Yomah, is at this point about 35 yards broad (with deep pools and rocky overfalls) running at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour—height per boiling point 2,347 feet above the level of the Sea. The hills on both sides steep to the water's edge.

Halting place near the Karen (Christian) village of Lay-mun numbering above 120 souls, course E. N. E.—estimated distance $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

The route during this day's march lay directly across ridges of hills of varying altitude, excessively steep in some places, the difference of altitude passed being as high as 3,200 feet.

November 26—Swam the elephants and ponies across the stream and passed it over a bamboo floating bridge. Road directly up the steep face of the hills on the east bank to a high range, shewing an altitude per boiling point on the ridges of 4,675 feet; descended to halting place on the Koo Lhoo Khyoung running into the Thouk-yai-Khat Khyoung at a Karen (Christian) village (Ley-khoo) with a population of 130 souls. A Karen teacher of the American Baptist Mission resides here.

Course E.N.E.—estimated distance $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles,—height of stream at halting place 2,231 feet.

The road, similar to that of yesterday, has been cut in almost a direct line by the Karens, without reference to any facilities for turning it along the flanks of the hills. They know of no other process they say—a most convenient ignorance for them, as the forming a pathway at lower elevations would incur the labor of scarping a portion of the hill side to which they are obstinately opposed, and there is therefore no help for it, but to get the road opened under any circumstances and be thankful.

At the point of greatest elevation looking down upon the valley of the Koo Lhoo, a most magnificent view lay open before us. To the Eastward the high range of the Yomah and Pounge Loung stretched along in an unbroken line from N. N. E. far to the south with an altitude varying from 5,000 to 8,000 feet. Low on the

flank of the main range, a succession of elevations without any general line of direction and with boldly defined rounded summits filled up the whole space to the centre of the valley, through which the stream coursed, dashing in snowy wreaths over the falls seen at intervals in its broken bed ; while the morning mists rising slowly from the valley reflecting back the sun's rays, gave the appearance of an inlet from the sea, rendered more real by the tops of the lower congeries of hills rising above the stratum of cloud, like isolated islands from the ocean. Even the Karens of the party stopped in silent admiration at the scene, and while still gazing in abstracted wonderment, the sea of cloud was lifted up, obscuring from view the higher ranges but leaving the space below in the valley (about 20 miles broad), clear as the outline of a painted landscape; but all was silent,—no wreathes of smoke to mark the village hamlet, no tall spire to consecrate the scene,—one all pervading tinge of green in varying shades, marking at distant points the clearings of the Yaings, contrasted with the forest vegetation of more somber tint along the course of the stream and in the deep gorges of the more distant mountains.

The direction of the intended line of road across the main range was pointed out as crossing nearly the highest of the elevations to the eastward, but the Yaings of those mountains are as yet opposed to our passage.

November 27—In consequence of the difficult nature of the road from Mai-ga-doo to this place have resolved upon remaining at present halting place until the arrival of the elephant with supplies from Toungoo. It is also desirable to induce some of the chiefs of the Yaings at the base of the central range to come into camp before proceeding through their cultivations against their will; for which purpose a few presents and a message by one of the chiefs of a village in that direction have been sent.

During the day a party arrived express from the chief of Karen-Nee, bringing a letter from the agent, stating that the frontier villages had been attacked by Shans and Burmese and destroyed, supposed to be influenced by the Burmese officials at Mobyay in concert with Kyau-pu-tee and Tse-yee the chiefs hostile to Kyay-h'po-gye.

Several Karen (Yaing) communities came in to-day to see me,

they are of the same tribe as this village but excessively filthy in appearance and dress.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 72°, 1 p. m. 80°, 6 p. m. 74°.

Showers of rain during the night.

November 28—Sent the Na-Khan Quay-lay with two of the head men of this village (Lay-khoo) to proceed along the upper course of the stream in a northerly direction to endeavor to find a passage across the central elevation more accessible than that selected, which involves a considerable detour.

Proceeded to examine a "Salt-lick" at some distance up the stream, the resort of numbers of deer and wild pigs whose foot-marks were abundant in the vicinity of the spring, which rises up through disrupted fragments of granitic and quartz formations—the whole surface is trodden into black mud, with small pools of clear water possessing a slightly chalybeate taste but without smell or other peculiarity.

The Karens (dirty) of yesterday's arrival returned to their villages, promising to render every assistance to open a road in their direction if found necessary. All complain of the conduct of the "Yaings" of the Yomah.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 68°, 1 p. m. 79°, 6 p. m. 72°.

November 29—Proceeded to the upper valley of this water course (Koo Lhoo) to examine a deposit said by the Karens to be a portion of the mortar employed by the Burmese in former years in building a "Pagodah" on a rising ground near the deposit, which in the shape of a huge mound remains to this day. Found the deposit in question to consist of a very friable and earthy calcareous "tufa" of very recent origin, mixed with much water worn detritus and bearing the imprints of leaves, showing that the waters of the stream percolate a loose lime-stone formation at its source which in losing its carbonic acid base forms calcareous beds in different parts of the stream.

The story of the "Pagodah" a mere legend, the result of a fancied resemblance of the top of the mountain to a Pagodah in ruins—nor is it probable that the Burmans in any considerable body can penetrate these mountain ranges.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 54°, 1 p. m. 78°, 6 p. m. 73°.

Sunday, Nov. 30—The Karen Missionary Qua-lah performed

divine service, the whole of the Karens of the party and many of the villagers of Koo Lhoo attending.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 64°, 1 p. m. 79°, 6 p. m. 72°.

While the thermometer ranges at this period on the valley of the Sitang from 56° to 82° the temperature here even at this height, 2,231 feet, is more equable with a higher minimum point, for the reason that the hills through which the stream flows form a complete barrier to the N. Easterly winds which prevail in their unobstructed course through the lower valleys.

December 1—The Na-Khan Quay-lay returned from his inspection of the country to the N.E. He reports that the Yaings whose localities he reached are the most wretched and debased of all the tribes in these ranges. On his arrival at their villages they refused to have any communication with him, and threatened to spear him if he attempted to enter their houses, which, unlike the rest of the Yaings, are built separately, one above the other, up the steepest part of the mountain sides—their objection being that he would cause sickness amongst them and that I came to seize and make slaves of them. After some time, however, during which he explained the object of my visit and presented the chief men with a Goung-Boung each, they consented to admit him into the village on the condition that himself and party should eat separately. He learnt from them that a road existed in that direction into the Shan county, but not to Karen-Nee. This road in company with a guide from the village he proceeded to inspect and found that it skirted the main range northward passing across the sources of the drainage and was in some places so rocky as to be impracticable to the passage of beasts of burden. It was in one of these rocky passes that the Shan traders were attacked by these people as previously noticed, when attempting to reach Toungoo by this route; and they are under the impression that to revenge that affair is of one of the reasons for my coming here.

The headman of the village would not consent to return with the Na-Khan to camp on any terms; but they permitted a number of the villagers, principally youth, to do so; and verily a more debased set of human specimens I never met with before; even the Yaings who were present at my tent, whom I had previously classed as the filthiest of their kind, shrank involuntarily from

contact with the new comers whose scant clothing in rotten fragments scarcely sufficed for the purposes of decency; and there they sat, each representing an animated mass of the most grovelling debasement of the genus "homo." The Na-Khan said that in their homes they associated together like pigs and monkeys, but that the latter were the superior animals because they rejected filth, which these creatures do not; they live in a constant state of dread of attack and each man sleeps with his spear in his grasp. Even in their own clan and in close proximity to each other's villages this state of vigilance is observed. I caused it to be explained to them that henceforth a better state of things must prevail with them—that the past would be forgotten and that they would be protected so long as they consented to forego their former practices which if repeated would bring upon them a severe retribution. To each individual I gave a newgoung-boung and a silver 4 anna piece, which with the instruction they have received I have no doubt will effect a better state of feeling with their chiefs on their arrival at their village.

Thermometer 6 a m. 68°, 1 p. m. 79°, 6 p. m. 67°.

Decr. 2—Oo-Moung, the Myo-oke returned from Toungòo with the extra supplies and other articles as presents sent for from Maiga-doong,—he reports that the Karens of Thege-yai-yo have opened the road by an easy line round the base of the hill as directed.

The pioneer Oo-twai also returned to camp—he reports that in company with several of the head men of the Karens of Ley-pyaygye, he proceeded to a village of Yaings at two day's journey in the hills to the northward where the man stolen from the village of Maiga-doong was detained. After remaining there a day and giving the few presents he took with him to the chief and head men, they delivered the detained man up to him in accordance with my order to that effect, and consented to forego all further claim upon him. They (Oo-twai and party) then set out on their return to my camp but when about two miles distant from the village they were overtaken by a large number of the people from the village they had left, who forcibly took possession of the released villager of Maiga-doong and carried him back with them—they gave no reason for this conduct merely stating that they had changed their minds, but that circumstance did not appear to affect the presents they

had received, which they retained. As such a line of proceeding, if permitted to pass unnoticed, would induce many other tribes to follow their example, and having done all in my power to induce their submission by conciliatory measures, I have given an order to the Myo-oke to proceed with an armed party of peons to demand the restoration of the captured man, and if refused to take him and the refractory individuals by force. This is the only instance in which I have been compelled to use coercive measures with these people, and I have no doubt but the appearance of a few muskets will have the desired effect, without the necessity for using them.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 63°, 1 p. m. 78°, 6 p. m. 72°.

December 3 and 4.—Detained at halting place during the last two days in preparing official correspondence of office routine. The Karen Missionary (Qua-la) having accompanied me thus far states his intention to do so throughout the route to Karen-Nee, having received an invitation from some of the tribes subject to Kyay-hpo-gye to establish schools with them, and he is also desirous of meeting that chief to obtain his countenance to these measures.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 54°, 1 p. m. 74°, 4 p. m. 68°.

December 5—Started at 8 a. m., the mist rising so thick from the stream that the elephants could not proceed until the sun's rays had dispersed it. The road across low but very steep hills with water courses falling into the Koo-Lhoo stream: reached halting place on the Ko-Lau, a feeder of the former, which drains one of the numerous shallow valleys of this group of hills which cover the flanks of the higher ranges. Course to Ko-Lau stream E.—estimated distance 3 miles.

Course up the stream E. N. E.—estimated distance $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

The Tsau-Kai or chief of the Karens of Koo-Lhoo accompanied me to this place, for the purpose of arranging a difficulty with the chief of Ko-Lau, his story is as follows:—"I am the chief of all the Karens of the valley of Ko-Lhoo where I resided until eight moons since, when I was obliged to fly from my home with my family and seek protection from the vengeance of that man (pointing to the chief of Ko-Lau) with the Karens of Bangalee where the Na-Khan (Quay-lay) resides. He threatened vengeance upon me for having killed one of his people, who in concert with the

Red Karens (⁹) from across the Eastern mountains had on several occasions attacked and plundered the villages belonging to me. On the last occasion of his coming I caught him, placed him in bands and ordered one of my people to kill him, which was done; he forfeited his life justly from his crimes and my people have been relieved of an enemy during whose existence there was no peace for them; and now this man seeks my life; if I have not stated the truth let him now in your presence spear me to death." Such was the chief's story, which was corroborated by the Na-Khan. On its termination, the chief of Ko-Lau-Karens, who sat immediately in front of me smoking with a vehemence that plainly shewed it was not the pipe of peace he held, started up from his sitting posture with an apparent intention of spearing his neighbour and denying the truth of his statement afterwards, but before he could move away I placed my hand upon his shoulder and bade him keep his seat, telling him that I came there to do justice to both parties, and after I had heard his statement I would give my decision. He however did not attempt to deny the wicked practices of his clansman who had been killed, but qualified them by referring to ancient feuds between the tribes which had never been settled and so forth, he therefore claimed life for life in accordance with the custom of their race; to this I was compelled to place a decided negative, and to repeat the lesson to him which had been so frequently repeated to other tribes, to the effect, that my presence amongst them was the signal for the cessation of all old feuds between the tribes, by-gones must henceforth be by-gones, that in the present case the offender had met a just punishment and as I had made it my affair and had taken the responsibility of his death upon myself, I was the party to be speared, if any one, and that for the future, these disputes must be referred to me for adjustment, when the wrong doer would be punished and the sufferer protected.

Much useless verbiage passed between the chiefs, participated in by several of the headmen of both tribes. The explanations of the Na-Khan meanwhile appeared to have a mollifying effect, as the fumes from the chief's pipe curled upwards with a graceful peacefulness, until at length on the exhibition of a few painted handkerchiefs, his heart was subdued and he accepted the gifts,

acceded to my terms of arrangement and shook his friend by the hand in token of reconciliation and peace between them.

Other little matters of stolen Kye-dzees, by this chief of Ko-Lau, were arranged amicably ere I left the place, and one poor fellow complained of the loss of his three children, who were stolen from him by people from the valley of the Hpoo-Loo across the range, taken from him, he said, in connivance with his own chief, he of the pipe, who disclaimed any participation therein but promised to use his influence for their restoration, and to accompany me to the village where they are detained, for that purpose.

Complaints of the above nature crowd upon me as I advance into these wilds, where from the vicinity to Karen-Nee the facilities for disposing of victims to this degraded state of society are abundant.

December 6—The course of the road from halting place had been cut across a range of hills much to the southward of the general line, and seeing from the appearance of the formations abutting on the main range that a road might be made along the ridge of a spur to within a short distance of the Pass, I got the Karens to work on the new line and proceeded with them as it was completed until reaching the only spot upon which a small tent could be pitched under the shoulder of the high peak above the Pass,—here I halted, sending the elephants and baggage across the range into the valley of the Hpoo-loo. In ascending to this point both elephants and Karens who were employed carrying the baggage were in considerable danger from the fierce east wind which at this season blows almost continuously for nearly two months. Several of the ridges upon which they were exposed to its full force were so narrow and the wind so strong that it required extreme care in passing them to prevent being hurled many hundred feet down the almost perpendicular sides of the mountain. Course N. E. E.—estimated distance $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

Thermometer, noon 68°, 6 p. m. 54°.

The east wind continued with full force during the whole night.

Sunday, Dec. 7—Ascended to the top of the pass to ascertain its height—the boiling point gave the altitude of 6,520 feet.

From this point it was seen that the valley of the Hpoo-loo was enclosed on its eastern side by a still higher range than that on

which I stood, so that the hill ranges and more level country of Karen-Nee could not be seen. In every direction the scenery was of the grandest and most imposing description, surpassing anything in the power of words to describe, but bearing to the heart a feeling of profound pity and commiseration for the abject state of the races which inhabit it.

The easterly gale prevailed during the whole day and through the night.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 48°, 1 p. m. 69°, 6 p. m. 55°.

December 8—Proceeded across the pass and down the steep descent on its eastern face into the valley of the Hpoo-loo; to the westward of the pass the watershed is into the Thouk-yai-khat and Sitang and the east through this valley into the Salween. The drainage here is separated from that of the Yoon-za-len by several ranges of hills, its source being at a distance of two days journey to the south of this valley—this separation of the drainage forms a well defined line of demarcation between Karen-Nee and Toungoo, but the Karens of this valley, of which there are 3 villages, consider the high ridges on its eastern side as the boundary and use both sides of the valley for their cultivations without molestation from the Karen-Nee authorities.

This valley is known generally as the Kala-tee-nee-noung in Burmese—its name by the Karens being, as previously noted, the Hpoo-loo.

Course N. E.—estimated distance 1 mile.

The Jemadar reported that one of the elephants had been cold-struck, and that he would not be able to proceed for two or three days, this is so far opportune as the road east from this point has not yet been opened, the people from Karen-Nee not having reached the range to the eastward.

December 9—Ascertained the height of this valley by the boiling point to be 3,270 feet.

The man from Ko-Lau, whose children are detained at this place, brought his affair to my notice, and in the midst of the crowd that sat before my tent pointed out the man in whose possession they were, who on being questioned stated that his elder brother had stolen the children, and hearing of my approach had fled from the village leaving them in his charge. They were then produced, a boy

of about six and a girl of four years of age, the poor little creatures were entirely naked and as the temperature was below 50, with a keen east wind blowing up the valley, they sat huddled together shivering in every limb with cold, and to add to the boy's misery his right knee had been bitten through by a dog and as no care had been taken of the wound, the knee cap was swollen to an extent that prevented the limb being straightened which remained bent under him. A more distressing picture of human misery than these children presented I never witnessed. It appeared that some of the women of the tribe had bestowed upon the children some sort of a covering, but the man who had charge of them prevented their wearing it. I denounced the fellow before his tribe as a heartless wretch for his inhumanity and having procured some clothing for the poor things gave them over to their parent; who, with the lamed boy on his back and the girl clinging to the torn fragments of his tunic, proceeded with all haste up the mountain side and speedily disappeared across the Pass, fearful of again losing perhaps the only objects in this world which, with the still absent one, held a place in his breast. The other child I am informed is at a village some two days journey on the line of route eastward.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 55°, 1 p. m. 71°, 6 p. m. 58°.

December 10—The eldest son of the chief of Karen-Nee with upwards of 100 of his people arrived this morning to open the road directly from this valley to a point of contact with that completed on the eastern side of the range. As they swept across the Karen clearings on the eastern flank of the valley they formed a striking picture and strong contrast with the inhabitants of these villages. Each man with a cone-shaped red turban on his head and spear in hand, which glittered in the sun's rays, accompanying the chief on a white pony, realized in some degree the advance of a marauding clan of Highlanders of ancient story, but in this case as in many others, distance lent enchantment to the view, as on nearer approach, with the exception of the uniform red turban and short drawers reaching midway on the thigh, they were scarcely one remove in point of cleanliness from the mass of filthy beings of this locality.

Having selected a point of ascent up the eastern range, the Red

Karens commenced work in good earnest promising to get it finished in two days.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 56°, 1 p. m. 73°, 6 p. m. 58°.

December 11—The sick elephant being reported sufficiently well to be able to proceed to-morrow, I collected the whole of the Yaings who have been employed in opening the road from Koo-Lhoo to this point for the purpose of paying them. My tent being pitched on a rising piece of ground close to the spot at which the Yaings were assembled, it was curious to observe the groups as they sat, each tribe separately, eyeing intently the division of the gounge-boungs from the piece of muslin ere they were distributed, and the transition from an aggregated mass of about 500 dirty heads, scarcely distinguishable from the ground around them, to the same bound round with a wreath of snow white muslin—the ends being stuck upright on the top-knot of their hair—was bordering upon the ridiculous. Some who had earned two gounge-boungs had bound the heads of their infant children with the extra one, and on receipt of the silver coin (4 anna pieces) due to them each section made its way back to its own village shouting and capering up the mountain path like imps incarnate, of which problematical species they would form no bad specimens.

Having ascertained that a poor old woman of a tribe of Bways was detained in bondage by the chief of a Yaing tribe at the head of this valley, on my arrival here I despatched one of the Na-Khans with a request that she be delivered to her people, some of whom had accompanied the party. The Na-Khan returned, however, stating that he had failed to obtain her release and that the chief was prepared to resist any attempt to take her away by force. Being within our line of boundary this could not be suffered and I had ordered two of the elephants to be prepared and several of the Burman guard to accompany me, intending to take advantage of the moon-light to approach the village before the people had risen. During the afternoon, however, a member of the community of Hpoo-Loo came with the Na-Khan to my tent stating that the chief of the tribe by whom the woman was detained was his relation, and that if I would furnish him with a few articles as presents he would return to camp bringing the woman and the chief with him. He left with the articles in his possession and during the forenoon returned accom-

panied by the chief, several of the headmen of the tribe and the old woman. One of the men had in his possession an old musket and presuming upon its terror inspiring properties the chief on meeting with the Na-Khan assumed a high tone, threatening him for having approached the village. He was told to alter his behaviour, and on being brought to me at my tent appeared to have become considerably tamed, listened with apparent deference to what I had to say, and gave up the poor old woman to her people without any demand beyond the usual one of a Kyee-dzee said to be due by her people to his tribe. I presented a few Rupees and handkerchiefs to both himself and head men and he appeared to be agreeably surprised at the treatment he met with. During the time of our negotiation when sitting before my tent, the Burman guard fired off the old charges from their muskets, and the sick elephant to whom medicine was being administered roared and whined like a refractory Cyclops, which discordant sounds had I suspect great influence in taming the savage into amiability.

December 12—Proceeded by a zig-zag road, very steep in some parts, to the top of the eastern range, the distance as shown by the perambulator being nearly 2 miles,—ascertained the height to be 7,425 feet. The whole hill systems were visible from this elevation, the Nat Toung bearing S. S. E., being the highest point within range of vision, ascertained by me on a former occasion to be upwards of 8,000 feet. To the westward the Sitang was clearly visible through a break in the ranges, having the appearance, seen through the blue haze, of separated lakes—the distance in a direct line being about 35 miles.

I attempted from this point to get a general direction of the ranges, and found that on the west of my position the large masses had a direction about S.S.E. and N. N. W. while those on the east, less aggregated but more broken, had no line that could be applied as a general course of the up heavement, but the contortions of their flanks and spurs and their rugged and uneven outline shewed them to belong to the limestone series of formations.

Course N. by E., distance 6 miles, to halting place on the valley of Tha-bo-loo.

December 13—The road to-day passed along the base of several

distinct ranges of lime and sandstone to the head of one of the feeders of the Pong-Loung-Ngay near the village of a Karen-Nee Yaing chief (Loot-Tsee) after whom the locality is named. This individual appears to exercise the chief control over all the Karens of this locality and holds himself independant of the authorities of Karen-Nee, against whose people he has on several occasions opposed a successful resistance to their demands :—Course S. E., $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles, N. E., 3 miles.

Sunday 14—During the usual halt on the Sabbath, the chief Loot-Tsee appeared in the camp, bringing the stolen child belonging to a man who has accompanied the Karen missionary and not to the man whose two children were restored to him at Hpoo-Loo as stated previously—the restoration to the father was easily arranged through the medium of a few presents, and the chief was informed that such practices as robbery and kidnapping would be put an end to on my meeting the chiefs of Karen-Nee.

All the Yaing tribes on the eastern watershed assume the costume and speak the dialect of Karen-Nee. The contrast, especially as regards the dress of the females, is striking and peculiar when compared with that of the western, or as a local distinction, the Toun-goo-Yaings, whose clothing consists of a simple petticoat and armless tunic. The former wear a head wrapper of dark cloth made up square from the forehead, resembling the head dress of the Italian peasant women, a piece of the same material hanging in front of the bust and tucked into the waist of the lower covering, a short petticoat reaching barely to the knee, and over these garments they hang first round the neck heavy masses of bead-necklaces and any silver ornaments they possess, coins &c &c, the hole in the lobe of the ear is enormously enlarged in which a large plug of metal or plated wood is placed, then round their hips a band of red and white beads of 6 inches broad, and from the knee front to the middle of the calf of the leg the same massive wrapper of red and white beads, brass and copper rings of from 3 to 4 lbs weight on each leg, which in the older females gives the calf of the leg the appearance of having been compressed from below the knee to the middle of the calf where the flesh bulges out and forms a sort of ledge for the load to rest upon. Such a method of adornment one would fancy tended to impede the movements of mountain-

eers who are in the daily habit of carrying heavy loads on their backs suspended by a band across the forehead and yokes over the shoulders, but they appear to suffer no inconvenience from it and regard her handsome whose limbs are loaded to an extent that she is compelled to perform two segments of a circle in every step she takes.

All, from the wrinkled grandmother of eighty to the child of four or five years old, smoke a short bamboo or horn pipe, the bowl being made of brass or copper, and amongst a group of smokers I observed a woman who, after smoking the contents of the pipe, tapped the bowl in the palm of her hand to extract the unburnt remnants, which, having collected, she tossed into her mouth, chewed and swallowed with evident gusto. I mentioned this circumstance to the Karen teacher, and his remark was to the effect that it imparted a stimulus to the stomach and produced a sensation similar to that from taking opium; a more filthy act I could not have imagined a female capable of, savage or civilized.

December 15—The road to-day passed along two sides of several limestone ranges, going over a zig-zag distance by the wheel of nearly 8 miles to the stream of the Pong Loung, one of the affluents of the Salween. This stream is about 30 yards broad with a very rapid current of 3 to 4 feet depth, shewing a steep inclination of the valley to the southward. Course N. E.—estimated distance $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

The Karen agent Moungh-Hpo, with the son of the chief Kyay-Hpo-Gyee, met me at this halting place bringing a present of a bullock, rice &c with a friendly message of welcome from the chief. A large quantity of fine teak on the hill sides of the valley, which some timber merchants from the lower provinces have been working for the Moulmain market.

December 16—Both my servants being laid up with strong fever I was compelled to remain stationary at present camp to enable them to take the usual remedies.

On examining the hills in the vicinity of the camp, found that the teak, with which a few stunted Firs (*Pinus longifolia*) was mixed, invariably affected the sandstone patches lying on the limestone, the latter in some places striking perpendicularly up for many hundred feet above the sandstone. Much quartz and clay

jasper accompany the above rocks as rolled fragments in the bed of the stream. Ascertained height of halting place 2,421 feet.

Thermometer 53° 6 a. m., 78° 2 p. m., 63° 6 p. m.

December 17—The sick men being sufficiently recovered to enable them to proceed on the elephants, started at day light along a road of steady ascent to the top of the range at about 6,500 feet, varying from which height to 5,000 the route throughout the day was maintained. No sight of the lower land of Karen-Nee was had until reaching an opening in the last high range to the eastward, when, and in descending its eastern face, the whole country of Karen-Nee lay spread out before us. Unlike the localities of the tribes of Karens in the mountains passed to the westward, the plantations on this side were all carefully cleared of weeds when the crops had been removed, shewing a bright-red surface, and bringing out clearly the waving outline of the slopes; this combined with the distant view of the lower lands of Karen-Nee, all bared of their primeval forest and rolling in broad topped undulations to the distant horizon, comprized a scene of beauty second to none but some of the inland portions of Java, which it greatly resembles.

Many large sized firs, associated with teak and Een (diptiroparus alatus) passed during the march. The formations more prominently available for examination than hitherto were the principal form of limestone with its accompanying sandstones and clay shales.

Halting place on one of the feeders of the Nan-pai-khyoung.

Course E. N. E.—estimated distance $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

December 18—The continued descent of yesterday proved so fatiguing to both man and beast that it was found necessary to make a short march to-day:—the road for the most part descending down the spurs of the main range—halted on the Nan-pai-khyoung an affluent of the Salween which forms the drainage of the centre lands of Karen-Nee. Course N. N. E.—estimated distance $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

December 19—Proceeded by a road cut up the course of a gorge, in the lateral spurs, to the main trading road through Karen-Nee from the northward, a good cart road which can be traversed by carriages to the Salween at a distance to the south

of 3 days march from the junction with the main road to the chief village; the road passes across the undulating low hills of Karen-Nee, portions of which have been cultivated in fields and the crops but lately removed. Other portions fallow of the past season were being prepared with the hoe for next year's rains, the rank grass and weeds on the surface being collected in patches previous to burning. At the point of the main road a band of gongs and drums with a bamboo flute joined the party and kept up an incessant thumping until our arrival at the chief's village comprising upwards of 200 houses. All the chief men of the surrounding villages had assembled to do us honor, each one riding a pony of very small pretensions to good looks or size, but whether owing to the spirit stirring sounds of the brass instruments, or more probable the spirit which their riders had imbibed, they coursed with each other up and down the slopes, running madly after each other and cutting such cantrips as only drunken riders and drunken beasts can cut with impunity, and they so continued their performance until my arrival at the halting place on a rising ground near the chief's residence. Course N. N. E.—estimated distance $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

The villages seen along the line of road are all very prettily situated on the tops of the hillocks, surrounded by clumps of the gigantic bamboo.

December 20—Having intimated my intention of visiting the chief at his residence, he sent a message to the effect that he would prefer visiting me at my tent, the reason, although not expressed, being (a common one with all the Karen tribes) that the visit of strangers to their houses is attended with subsequent calamity to them in the shape of some disease of a contagious nature, and for the same reason the line of road which in many places would have been more direct by passing close to the villages was invariably turned away making a considerable detour in some instances. To return to the chief, the old man accordingly made his appearance at my tent during the forenoon and on entering it at my invitation, stood for sometime regarding it with extreme curiosity; having satisfied himself that it was not a bamboo fabric, he entered it and seated himself at my request on a camp chair, drawing up his legs on the seat tailor fashion. From the letters

I had received from him at Toungoo in which he constantly referred to his extreme age, as well as from the reports of those who had seen him, I was prepared to meet an old man of 70 or so; but his appearance fully bore out his statement that he had passed his ninetieth year. Small of frame, which bore evidence of his having been a wiry active man, he carried himself remarkably well for his age, but the bent spine, the tremulous motion of the hands and bleared eye, with a vacant expression and a hesitation of speech, told but too true a tale of his having passed the age assigned to man.

In dress he was distinguished from all his people by wearing the costume of the Shans, (a double breasted jacket and loose trousers of white cloth with a turban of the same material); across the left shoulder hung suspended by a red cord his state Dha with the sheath and handle covered with silver plates ornamented; and as a support, forming at the sametime his insignia of authority, he carried a stout spear of seven feet long with a broad blade and the whole of the shaft encased in silver. From the head of the shaft at the point of insertion of the blade a mass of horse hair dyed red hung down, fringe-like, giving rather a handsome appearance to the weapon.

I informed the old chief that the Governor of the Province of Pegu had deputed me on my present mission with the double purpose of opening a trading road to the Shans through Karen-Nee and across the mountain region to the west into the valley of the Sitang, which I had accomplished, and also, that hearing of the dissensions and repeated aggressions of other chiefs of Karen-Nee upon his, Kyay-hpo-gyee's, people, the Governor of Pegu was desirous that all misunderstandings should be arranged through my agency and peace established between them, without which no permanent security to the safe passage of the traders would be attained and the country derive no benefit from the measures adopted by our government, which regarded with warm interest the prosperity of Karen-Nee as an independant power. I also brought other matters to the chief's notice, especially the subject of the agency of his people in slavery, its effects upon the Yaings within our border, and its objectionable and revolting character. And finally, on introducing the Karen-Nee Teacher

Qua-lah to him, I informed him of the benefits to be derived by his people from adopting a means of enlightenment which would raise them above the reproach of being uncivilized and barbarous, and in the possession of a written character place them on a level with the surrounding nations of Shans, Siamese and Burmese. To all I said, which was interpreted to him by the Shan My-Hpoo in an exceedingly condensed form, if the shortness of the speech were a sufficient indication, the old man appeared to give a nervous listening, and then replied in a string of short coughing sentences, which occupied him for more than half an hour, the burden of which was the oft repeated story conveyed in his letters (written in Burmese by a Shan Poon-gye who resides here), of the ingratitude of Kyau Pee Tee, the Chief of Ngwae Toung, who from being his dependant and protege and entrusted with a portion of the country, had sought the aid of the Burmese to dispossess him, Kyay-hpo-gyee, and become ruler of the country, subjecting it to the authority of the Burmese &c, to which government neither he, the chief, nor his sons, would ever submit, on account of the atrocities they committed when they invaded the country from Toungoo about ten years ago. This one subject appeared to hold possession of the old chief's mind to the exclusion of every other, and I perceived as he proceeded on with the garrulity of extreme old age to a repetition of the same story, (or, as interpreted into Burmese by his son-in-law the Shan, fool's talk), the uselessness of prolonging a conversation with him. I therefore desired the Shan to inform him that I would write a letter to Kyau Pee Tee, expressing a wish for an interview with him and informing him of my object in visiting Karen-Nee, and that I would defer the consideration of other matters for the present. I accordingly wrote a letter to Kyau Pee Tee, and sent it by the agent Mounghpoo and the old Shan trader OoMyat, but could procure no guide of Kyay-hpo-gyee's people, and with much difficulty I induced a Shan long resident here to accompany them as guide, so great is the dread of these people (a mutual feeling I am told) of capture and slavery.

I availed myself of the opportunity of the chief's visit to obtain particulars of the history of his race who are, ethnically considered, a distinct people from all the surrounding tribes of Karens.

Those particulars as being too lengthy for a diary I have embodied in my general report on the country.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 54°, 2 p. m. 73°, 6 p. m. 66°.

December 1.—Sunday, 54° „ 75° „ 68°.

*December 22—*Having pitched the camp close to the village of the chief's residence, I have in consequence been subjected to the incessant annoyance of being stared at and noise-confused by all the inhabitants, men, women and children, the latter of whom consider me some wild beast whom it would be dangerous to approach within reach. Under the impression that I have performed my part of the obligation and given every one an opportunity of satisfying their curiosity, I moved the camp to the top of an adjacent hill from whence a splendid view is had of the surrounding country, and, with the exception of chance passengers, I shall be free from the annoyance of an insatiable curiosity.

During the moving of the camp I proceeded to a prominent point on the hills in the vicinity to examine the country. From my position, looking southward, the whole space presented a mass of broad topped undulations varying from 2 to 600 feet in height, the valleys curving with a gentle slope to the centre, down which in broad patches the newly prepared surface offered a striking contrast to the portions clothed with stubble of last season's crops in the bright red and chocolate hues of the soil. Small patches of low jungle clothed the sides of the occasional steep gorges, and this, with the clumps of gigantic bamboo throwing its points of feathered foliage in graceful curves around and high above the villages within its shade, relieved the monotony of the landscape by their varied shades of green which shone brilliantly in the sun's rays, merging in the far distance in darker shades until lost in the blue haze that showed the ranges of limestone rocks forming the back ground of the picture in the direction of the Salween river. On the east side, an immense fissure in the formation with steep sides and narrow centre diversified the scene, on both sides of which the same undulating surface, with broad patches of cultivation, extends to the base of a ridge of hills which separate these lands from the Salween river. To the west the curves are more extended, giving to the centre an "ocean wave like" shape, dotted over with sites of villages and low peaks of limestone rock cover-

ed with vegetation, increasing in dimensions as they approach the main ranges, whose rugged peaks, pile upon pile, close the scene on that side. A high swelling ridge, bare of vegetation, shut out the prospect northward, but the guide informed me that at the distance of a few circles beyond, the undulations merged into a vast plain which extends far into the Shan states.

I had frequently heard of the beauty of this country, but a language picture is but a feeble agent in depicting the scenes of nature's grandeur in all their full reality which form the landscape on every side, it requires but the presence of water in meandering streams coursing the base of the undulating hills to render it a perfection of the picturesque, but this, from being considerably higher than the main drainage of the western ranges and separated therefrom by the broken masses of the mountain limestone, it does not possess. This absence of running streams however applies only to the centre portion of the surface, as at distance of a few miles N. and S., copious streams flow eastward into the Salween—the Nan-pai to the south and the Poon and its tributaries to the north of my position. In all the steep gorges, however, which are clothed with dense vegetation, small runlets exist of sufficient capacity to meet all the wants of the inhabitants without the necessity for seeking it below the surface of the hill valleys.

I ascertained the height of my present camp to be 3,315 feet, and with this data the range of elevation of the undulating surface may be stated at from 3,000 to 3,650 feet above the sea level.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 55°, 2 p. m. 72°, 6 p. m. 65°.

The real grounds of objection to my visiting the residence of the old chief were accidentally discovered during the forenoon by several of the Burmese guard, who, in strolling through the village near the chief's house, came upon two poor wretches confined by a chain round the neck and with their legs in bamboo stocks in a small enclosure, where they have been kept for several months past, their crime being, they were told, a suspicion of their having stolen a bullock and a Kye-dzee the property of a relation of the chief who resides at a village near that from whence these men, who are Yaings, were taken. I have already spoken to the Shan and the son of the chief on the inhumanity of such treatment, and on delivering the present I have brought for him shall make a request for their release.

December 23—Accompanied by the Shan and one of the headmen of the village I proceeded to the termination of the undulating formation at a distance of about eight miles to the northward, at which point a most magnificent prospect burst at once upon the view. At from 800 to 1,000 feet below us lay an unbroken plain of at least 30 by 50 miles, spreading to the northward until lost in the faint blue base line of the distant hills which bounded the horizon, nearest the base of our position beautifully undulating valleys with gently curves swept downwards until lost in the level surface of the plain, upon whose broad space, at intervals of a few miles, bright spots of verdure with the towering bamboo marked the sites of villages near which herds of cattle grazed in the stubble of the past harvest. Hills enclosed the plain on every side, forming a God-created ring-fence to a scene which in its entirety is surpassingly beautiful.

During the journey several places of interment of the dead were passed. Each village in fact reserves a plot of jungle for this purpose, and in the deep foliage of the underwood small miniature houses are seen, upon which hang suspended the baskets, implements of cultivation and household use, and fresh offerings of pumpkins, heads of maize and millet, and the neverfailing gourd-shell which contained the intoxicating beverage (the fermented liquor of rice and millet) of the departed one. In addition to the articles of daily use when alive, a portion of the valuables (gold or silver ornaments) of the deceased are buried with the body, a custom observed by all Karens who know no other than the degraded spirit worship¹⁰.

On my return to camp found the agent Moung-Hpo with Oo-Myat returned from the chief of Ngwai-Toung, Kyau-Pee-Tee, bringing an answer to my letter couched in the most friendly terms. He states his pleasure at my arrival in the country and the gratification it will afford him to meet me, but that the unfortunate state of affairs between himself and the chief Kyay-Hpo-Gyee renders it impossible for him to come within his authority, but that he will welcome me to his village and do all in his power to bring about the settlement of their differences in a spirit that the inhabitants of the country, who are of the same kindred, may enjoy peace and security for the future. He also professes to be equally

interested with myself in the prosperity of the traders, to whom he promises to afford all the assistance in his power in passage through the country.

I caused the contents of the letter to be communicated to the chief, his sons, and the head men, urging upon them the necessity for their co-operation with me in the good work of reconciliation which was now open to them. I also suggested that the chief's sons accompany me to Ngwai Toung, but they shrunk from the idea of what they said would be certain death to them for reasons best known to themselves. I requested them however to consult with their father and let me know as soon as possible the conclusion they came to, as it was my intention to proceed to Ngwai Toung.

Thermometer 6 a. m., 58°, 2 p. m., 75°, 6 p. m., 66°.

December 24—Rain during the night which, attended with clouds of drift, continued during the whole of the day, keeping the temperature below 60, and producing an uncomfortable sensation of coldness. These N. Easterly showers are seasonable throughout the range of the monsoon changes and occur in the Irrawaddy, Sitang and Salween valleys during this month.

The implements of cultivation in use throughout the country are a broad-bladed hoe and the Shan plough, the latter of very light construction with a share of iron, or rather a shoe of six inches long by four broad fitted on to the wood of the share and made with a slight curve towards the point which prevents it penetrating the soil beyond four inches deep. The hoe is used chiefly on the sloping sides of the hills, the plough on the more level surfaces, and in the use of both the women partake equally with the men; in fact, from what I have witnessed, the females perform by far the larger portion of out-doors work and appear to be a hardy industrious class¹¹. On proceeding to their fields or returning from them with a heavy load over their back, after the labors of the day, each one carries a spindle of prepared cotton wool in her left hand and twister in the right one, with which they spin the cotton yarn as they move along, to weave into articles of clothing at their leisure.

Besides paddy, the cereals planted are maize, millet and kyuk' the two latter used chiefly in the manufacture of a fermented liquid

(Koung) which is universally drunk by all classes, and is regarded as a panacea for "all the ills that flesh is heir to"; moderation in the use of this beverage appears to be the exception to the rule, and Dean Swift's fifth reason for drinking the prevailing excuse for excess to intoxication whenever an opportunity offers. Vegetables of the pumpkin class, with several descriptions of beans, the oil "sesame," the ground nut, tobacco and cotton plants all form a portion of their cultivation and judging from the size of esculents left to rot or for seed in the fields, the soil (a rich loam of bright red and chocolate hues) is of more than ordinary fertility.

The level surface lands of the plain are planted and cropped annually similar to those of paddy lands (wet) generally, but the uplands, in the absence of the renovation from submersion, are allowed to be fallow for three or four years, by which time they are covered with grass and brushwood sufficient in the decomposition to afford nutriment to the soil for a new crop.

The chief's son (Kwoon Tee) sent a message to the effect that having consulted the augury of the bones of a fowl, the result was against his accompanying me to Ngwai Toung, but that he would accompany his father to my tent to-morrow if the rain ceased to talk the matter over. The ridiculous superstition of consulting the oracle by the position and number of the small orifices in the bones of fowls, upon which most of the Karen race pin their faith, is a serious obstacle to the introduction of any measure tending to their improvement. An instance of this occurred a few days since, when the eldest son of the chief suffering from an attack of fever, the result I presume of an excess of Koung Yai, I sent him an emetic powder, but he was deterred from taking it by the result of the indications of the augury he had consulted, which was unfavorable, and he now lies ill of intermittent fever relying upon the "spirit" of his worship to restore him.

Thermometer 6 a. m., 54°, 2 p. m., 58°, 6 p. m., 56°.

December 25—The chief with his sons and a numerous retinue came to my tent to consult on the matters touching the letter from the chief of Ngwai Toung, Kyau Pee Tee. In reply to my proposition, he stated that neither himself, his sons, nor the chief men believed in the professions of Pee Tee, nor would they trust themselves within his power, that as a test of his (Pee-Tee's)

sincerity he should accompany me my return from Ngwai-Toung when he would be well received and every consideration given to anything he had to offer as a means of reconciliation ;—that Pee-Tee was formerly regarded by him as his son until after assigning him a portion of the country he sought the favor of the Burman government, who instigated him in his attacks upon Kyay-hpo-gye's people and villages, since which there has been no peace for the inhabitants. He stated his desire of placing the entire control of the country in the hands of our government or of myself, if I would remain in the country, but that in the event of my returning without bringing matters to a friendly termination, the same anarchy and unhappiness would follow as had obtained for the past ten years, and the Burmese, who had intimated an intention of placing a frontier guard within the Karen-Nee country subject to him, at a place to the northward called Nan-tsan-khan, would through Nga-Pee-Tee's agency eventually become masters of the country, and finally, that ere he passed away he was desirous of securing peace to his people and sons by the only means to that end he knew—viz: the protection of our government on any terms it might dictate.

In reply, I could only urge what I had previously stated,—that for the security of both parties and the traders, the Governor of Pegu had deputed me to endeavor to effect a reconciliation between the chiefs, which on my arrival at Ngwai Toung I should use my best endeavors to accomplish. With regard to the subject of transfer of his country to our government, I explained that I was not empowered to treat, but that his wishes therein, as well as all other matters affecting the tranquility of the country, would be communicated to my superior, where every consideration would be given thereto.

I took the opportunity of pointing out the malpractices of the Yaings of the western ranges within his territory, as well of the Red Karens themselves, in attacking and carrying into slavery the people from the tribes within the Toungoo boundary. He said that such acts were committed without his knowledge or authority, each village chief acting independantly of him, and that he would do all in his power to put a stop to such for the future, but that the best means of preventing it would be my residence in the

country, as the village chiefs would respect and fear my authority.

Before the party left I spoke to the chief's son Koon-Tee, on the inhumanity of keeping the two poor wretches chained by the neck and legs in his father's village. He stated that both had been caught stealing cattle and that they were so detained not by the chief, but by the people whose bullocks had been stolen, until ransomed by their relatives. This fact proved, what I had all along suspected, that there is actually no government in the country, and that the chief is so in name only—the patriarch of his clan.

The eldest son of the chief (Koon-Sha) who was suffering from the effect of fever preferred a claim for 420 Rs. for people employed on this side of the hills in making the road to the junction with the main trading one; having satisfied myself as to its correctness I paid the money, which was distributed forthwith amongst numerous expectants, who, with matchlock, or from one to three spears in hand and a dagger at the waist, presented the appearance of men who would brook no injustice even from a chief's son¹³.

Therm. 6 a. m. 57°, 2 p. m. 64°, 4 p. m. 62°, with clouds and passing mist which obscured the sun during the whole day.

December 26—Several individuals of tribes who inhabit the mountains to the N. W. of the Shan states came to see me. They call themselves Lat-hta, and Padoung, the former designated Tarvo or bare-headed by the Red-Karens from the fashion of cropping their hair close, with the exception of two long locks hanging down from the temples. They are profusely decorated with ornaments of shells and beads, a coronet of the former round the head and heavy necklaces of the latter. Both tribes have a peculiarity of feature, resembling in some measure the Chinese, with the iris colored of a light brown which would mark them as a distinct race from the Karens of this locality and the adjacent mountain ranges. Their language also is entirely distinct from any spoken by the Karen tribes and resembles in sound and inflection the Chinese and Shan languages.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 58°, 2 p. m. 70°, 6 p. m. 66°.

December 27—During our early walk across some paddy cultivation in stubble, a pheasant and several red legged partridge got up; the latter birds appear to be plentiful as I hear them from the tent calling from each patch of long grass around.

On my return discovered several plants of the wild raspberry creeping amongst the limestone blocks, they were in fruit, which is small and with little taste or flavor beyond an incipient sweetness. I also discovered a vine bearing bunches of white flowers of a soft and pleasant scent; the whole of the vines and creepers at present in bloom have a similar fragrant scent in a greater or less degree, and all would form an acquisition to the ornamental plants of our gardens.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 63°, 2 p. m. 72°, 6 p. m. 64°.

December 28—Sunday—Sent an intimation to the chief of my intention to move camp to-morrow to NOUNG BELAI, the residence of Kyay-hpo-ngay, to which place, as friendly relations exist between the two chiefs, the son of Kyay-hpo-gyee, Koon Tee, is desirous of accompanying me.

The Shan Poon-gye paid me a visit during the afternoon, and during a conversation on the subject of the spirit worship of the Red Karens and their abject superstitions, he said that many of the youths evinced a wish to be taught to read and write, and to learn the forms of prayer of the Buddhist faith, for which purpose they had occasionally visited his monastery, but that the parents had chastised them for it, and prevented their returning; the Karen Missionary (Qualah) also finds that they entertain an insuperable objection to adopt a faith whose tenets prohibit the use of the intoxicating KOUNG YAI:—to substitute water for it (which by the way they use rarely for purposes of ablution and never for drinking when their favorite KOUNG YAI is to be had) would, they say, entail fatal consequences upon them.

In my enquiries regarding the prevailing diseases and cause of death, I find that the generality of the deaths in the adult population, with the exception of those from Small-pox and Measles, are the natural ones of old age and decrepitude, and from Kyay-hpo-gyee, the chief whose century of existence is but a few years distant, I learnt that *Cholera had never visited this favored region.*

Thermometer 6 a. m. 60°, 4 p. m. 73°, 6 p. m. 66°.

December 29—Proceeded to NOUNG BELAI, the residence of the chief Kyay-hpo-ngay, the road curving with the base line of the undulations for eight miles when it descends by a gradual incline into the valley of the plain. Throughout the whole descent, as

from nearer approach the level land became more distinct, with patches of water at intervals, near which herds of cattle were grazing, each turn of the road revealed fresh beauties in the landscape, and in passing along the road through the centre of the valley, the lines of trees of the Banyan and prickly Euphorbia planted as line-fences enclosed by deep ditches, the graceful masses of gigantic bamboo all carefully fenced round, the park-like appearance of the slopes and the careful tillage of the deep red soil marked with the furrows of the plough, combined to form a pleasing picture, resembling in the distant prospect scenes of home and its peaceful vallies; all was in unison, mountain and valley, grove and plain, in nature's beauty blending.

Near the foot of the low hills on which the villages of Nong Belai to the number of about 250 houses are built, a stream from the western hills pours its waters into the plain. Guided by drains in its course it is made to flow across the grain lands which in one broad expanse has the appearance of a lake. As the waters drain off the wet land is made to yield a second crop of the season by those who have an incentive to so much additional industry, but few I am told avail of this providential water gift as their granaries are full to overflowing with the produce of the last season's harvest.

In accordance with their usages of welcome, I was met at about midway on the line of march by a gong, and a troop of mounted "Cossack" chiefs of villages who, each perched on his high saddle, spear in hand and each beast (pony being implied) with a strap of small bells as a neck-strap to the bridle, kept up such an intolerable gingling, that nearly drove my own beast mad, so that after a series of attempts to escape from them during which I partook of his irritation from pure sympathy, I dismounted and walked for the remainder of the journey. On the line of march in passing through one of the villages I observed a beautiful specimen of a leopard slung by the neck near a spirit's house. It was dropping to pieces from decomposition, having been killed by the villagers a week previously in the act of seizing a young bullock. From enquiry it appears to be the only beast of prey of the larger kind in the country, the tiger scarcely ever leaving the deep jungle cover of the lower land.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 58°, 6 p. m. 69°

December 30—The chief of Nong Belai, or as he is styled Kyay-hpo-ngay, in company with a young man Po Bya, the chief of certain villages to the northward, came to my tent with the usual tail of silverhandled and sheathed Dha-bearers, and a rabble of villagers all armed with either spears, matchlock or musket. Neither gaud of apparel nor beauty spot of cleanliness distinguished these chiefs from the rest, a Shan jacket and a pair of blue trowsers, innocent of water from the day of their birth and scented powerfully with the spillings of Koung Yai and the fumes of tobacco, rendered their presence within the tent, crowded with others of like fragrance, by no means enjoyable. Speaking nothing but their own Karen-Nee dialect they were communicated with through the Shan Agent of Kyay-hpo-gye, Moungh-Hpoo. The young chief uttered not a word, but viewed the interior of the tent round and round again and no doubt stored up conclusions too valuable for utterance. The chief Kyay-hpo-ngay, in reply to my suggestions affecting a reconciliation with Kyau Pee Tee of Ngwai Toung, said that when the Burmese invaded Karen-Nee his father and uncle had been taken and killed through the agency of Kyau Pee Tee but that had occurred a long time ago, however, and that he had no difficulty to settle on old matters, he wished to live in peace and to see all the people of the same race (Red Karens) enjoy the same instead of as at present fighting with and plundering each other, and finally that any arrangement for the establishment of friendly relations between Kyau Pee Tee and the chief Kyay-hpo-gye which I could effect he would also agree to: having said which he resumed his pipe and so ended the conference.

In the dusk of the evening the Shan interpreter Moungh-Hpoo came to the tent accompanied by several young men of the village bringing news of, to him, dire import—the youths, he said, has just returned from Ngwai Toung (which is situated at the distance of about 2 miles in the plain below my camp) where some of the villagers made many enquiries as to the number of men, horses, elephants, muskets, cum multis alias, that I had brought with me, and that they, the news-mongers, before leaving the village heard from other youths of their own stamp, that measures had been concerted to attack the Engleck Meng, kill him and his party and appropriate his property. Knowing the character of

this individual, to whose agency I attribute much of the ill-feeling which exists between the chiefs, I remarked that to reports of a similar character he had given a too willing belief previous to my arrival in the country and had urged them as facts upon me to induce me to bring Goyah Tseet-poing with me (Europeans and Sepoys), which it appears he had promised the old chief Kyay-hpo-gyee to effect on his first appearance in Toungoo in the capacity of agent from him. The burden of his song has ever since been "Goyah" "Tseet-poing" to my excessive annoyance, more especially so as he has invariably spread the report that I came to take possession of the country in the name of the Company and this report I conclude to be a trick of his own to gain the point of Goyah Tseet-poing. I accordingly told him that I gave no credit to idle stories of the kind, that if the youths had heard of any such intention from the chief Kyau Pee Tee himself I would take proper notice of it, and that although unaccompanied by Goyah Tseet-poing I had the means of defending my life, which it would be better for any of the race not to attempt. I cautioned him as to the consequence of spreading reports which were untrue of the objects of my visit and which could tend only to impede the good understanding which I wished to effect.

As the position of my camp affords access to water and good forage for the elephants, which Ngwai Toung does not, I sent the Agent Moungh-hpo with the old Shan Oo-Myat to present my compliments to the chief of Ngwai Toung requesting him to meet me here, to which no objection existed on the part of Kyay-hpongay or his people.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 53°, 2 p. m. 76°, 6 p. m. 67°.

December 31—In ascertaining the height of two positions on the level of the plain, found the average to be 2,850 feet above the sea-level, and as far as the eye can range the same level extends, without any inclination, to the base of the hills which bound the horizon. The agent Moungh-hpo with Oo-Myat returned from Ngwai-toung—they bring a message from Kyau Pee Tee and other chiefs that they cannot cross the plain to my camp, in consequence of the enmity existing between the people of Noungh Belai and themselves. I have therefore intimated my intention of visiting them to-morrow to talk over affairs and return

to camp in the afternoon. The chief Kyau-hpo-gyee's son (Kwoon-sha) is full of fears for my safety and greatly opposed to our going to Ngwai-toung but being Koung-yai plenum is not open to reason, and small attention paid to his talk which is full of sound and drunken bravado.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 48°, 2 p. m. 76°, 6 p. m. 68°.

January 1, 1857—Having no one with whom to interchange the good-wishes and amenities of the season in person, I commenced the year by wishing myself all the good my friends could wish me, and especially, a successful issue to the undertaking I am now engaged upon.

After breakfast proceeded with a couple of elephants, accompanied by the Karen teacher Qua-lah, the agent Moungh-Hpo and a few of my own people (taking no arms with me, with the exception of my own pistols) to the village or rather Shan town of Ngwai Tóung, the residence of Kyau Pee Tee, at a distance in the plain of about three miles—the principal part of the inhabitants are Shans, who, to the number of near 700 families reside within a space enclosed by a ditch and rampart with a palisade of thorn bushes on the top; the whole affair, however, affords so slight a protection that any man (a drunken Red Karen for example) could easily enter within if so minded. Outside the enclosed space the Red Karens have several large villages and judging from the immense number of Shans and Karens of both sexes who crowded round me to get a sight of the, to them, extraordinary animal in the shape of an unshaven stout white man the population must be very numerous. Selecting a spot under a shady tree, I pitched my camp chair and sat down, sending intimation of my arrival to the chiefs. During the time I thus waited the crowd of people, the men being all armed with spear, matchlock or dha, so crushed in upon me, some of them climbing the tree for the purpose of observation, that I was waxing hot both in body and temper, and was compelled to request them to open a passage for the air or sit down to permit its reaching me over instead of through their bodies. As most of the Shans present spoke the Burmese language my wish was at once complied with and they with a hearty laugh shouted to the Karens to sit down, upon which the greater portion immediately squatted and in return for so much

complacency I took off my topee and laid it aside so as to afford a full view of the head of the animal, glancing round from front to rear to admit an inspection to all alike. While thus engaged a stir was made in the crowd, the women with shouts scampered away, a lane was formed in the mass of squatters around me and the chief dressed in the Burman costume entered and sat down on his state carpet, a not over pleasant smelling bullock's hide. Of about 50 years of age (a Shan by birth) clean, with a pleasing and intelligent countenance, that bespoke a superiority far above the best of the Red Karens, his tout ensemble afforded no indication of the ruthless tyrant my friends on this side of the question gave of him ; my impression was in fact altogether in his favor and it was strengthened by the result of our conference.

Having received my letter informing him of the objects of my mission, we at once entered into a discussion of the matters pertaining thereto. Pointing to the short distance which separated Ngwai Toug from Noug Belai I said that it was sorrowful to think that so short a space separated relatives and brothers in race and that the want of a simple knowledge of each others real feelings and intentions by personal intercourse, alone kept up the feeling of animosity and induced the acts of mutual aggression which obtained with them, and that so long as such a state of affairs prevailed neither security to the traders nor peaceful existence to themselves could be maintained—that the governor of Pegu commiserating this deplorable state of affairs was desirous of effecting a reconciliation between the chiefs and of opening up a free and unrestricted communication with Tougoo, by the road I had come, to the whole territory of Karen-Nee, in which good work I solicited his co-operation. The chief in reply stated that equally with myself he deplored the present state of ill-feeling which separated the people of Karen-Nee and induced the frequently occurring attacks upon each other's villages, burning of houses, seizure of cattle and people &c, and more especially so as upon himself fell the odium of any and every act of the kind committed in retaliation by people of the eastern side on those of the west under the chieftainships of Kyay-hpo-gyee and Kyay-hpo-ngay. He said that the difficulty of effecting a reconciliation lay in the fact of there being no governing power in the country to check

the plundering propensities of almost every man of the smallest weight or influence in the villages—the chiefs associated with himself, viz Pya Ten the successor of the old Pa Baa, Koon Tse the chief of the northern portion, and Pa Ban Galay of the southern, were like those on the western division, chiefs merely in name possessing neither power nor authority over any free person of the community—he informed me of a theft of cattle 13 in number and of the seizure of seven Shans from the Mein Koon Tso Broaship to the northward, committed by seven individuals of the Eastern Karens, whose names he gave, all residing within the chieftainship of Moung Belai, but that he did not for that reason accuse Kyay-hpo-ngay of participation therein or of those acts having been perpetrated by his order.

I told him of the report which had reached me on the line of march of his having attacked and burnt several villages on the frontier of Kyay-hpo-ngay's country. He said that it was one of those infamous falsehoods perpetrated by the Shan Moung Hpoo to keep up the bad-feeling towards him, and he clearly proved that the villages in question were under the chieftainship of Koon Tso, that Kyay-Hpo never had anything to do with them, that they were equally beyond his, Kyau Pee Tee's, control and finally that the affair was a quarrel between villages of the same party, the Eastern Karens, and that their own chief Koon Tso dared not interfere between the parties. This statement was fully corroborated by several Shan traders who had lately passed through the villages in question.

On the subject of his having received charge of the eastern portion of Karen-Nee from Kyay-hpo-gyee, he gave an unqualified denial and called forth two of the oldest inhabitants to relate the history of the chiefs of the country, from which it appeared that during the earlier period of Pan Ban's residence in Karen-Nee, Kyay-hpo-gye was unknown; other particulars of the country he gave with a frankness and ingenuousness that carried conviction with it, and proved beyond a doubt that all I had previously heard through the medium of "Goyah" "Tseet Poing" Moung Hpoo the Shan Agent of Kyay-hpo-gye, was a string of lies of the whitest hue.

I took the opportunity of enquiring as to the nature and extent of the control exercised by the Court of Ava over the eastern portion of Karen-Nee. He informed me that both himself as well as the Karen-Nee chiefs associated with him had become subjects of the King of Burmah, from whom, through the officer commanding the frontier military post at Mobyay, they received the orders of that government, but that neither taxes nor other levies were made on the Karens; also, that the Shan traders were exempt from duties on passing through the custom part of the country to the Salween, the only payment made by them being the hire of an armed party to protect them from the attack of dacoits in their passage through the country; that the traders occasionally made presents to himself and the Karen chiefs when passing their localities but such gifts were optional, and of trifling value.

On my representation that the road through the valley to the westward had now been opened direct to Toungoo, he, to my great surprise, stated that the trading road from the north to the eastward through the territory of Kyay H'po was known to all as being much superior to that through his locality, but that the fear of being plundered by the chiefs and attacked by the villagers along the line prevented their going by that route. Some 1,200 traders had already passed through his town en route for Maulmain who had been informed of my advent by a road across the western ranges, but they were deterred from taking advantage of it by the known bad character of the chiefs and headmen. He appealed to several Shan traders present who confirmed his statement, and to these men I addressed myself particularly and promised either to accompany them myself or furnish a guard for the protection of any number who wished to proceed by this route until well within the Toungoo district. They promised to inform their fellow traders to the northward of what I had said, and I sincerely trust that it may have the desired effect ere I leave the country; the circumstance however shews me how little worthy of credit the statements of the Shan Moungh Hpo are, an oft repeated one being to the effect, that many hundreds of Shan traders were anxiously awaiting my arrival to proceed to Toungoo by the new road.

Returning to the principal subject of my communication, Kyau Pee Tee acceded to my proposal to draw up an agreement by

which the chiefs of both parties should engage to live in amity for the future, forgetting past occurrences and engaging to submit to their superior chiefs or head men, as arbitrators of both parties, all differences which may arise in future, instead of adopting the summary method of the past. I told him that I would endeavor to obtain the restoration of the cattle and people from Munkang as an essential preliminary measure, and if acceded to and the terms of the agreement accepted by the chiefs of Kyay-Hpo's party the document should be signed in my presence and transmitted to him. He promised his best offices to effect the good such a reconciliation would produce, but said that with the Karen chiefs it would be necessary to call into consultation the Burman officer of the frontier post.

I returned to Mounng Belai through the paddy lands of the town and was pleased with the care and attention which they presented. Each plot or field is carefully fenced by a stone wall of 3 feet high, made of loose blocks of a lateritic conglomerate which is found in large patches on the surface of the plain; this superstratum removed, the soil beneath appears to be sufficiently fertile with the use of the plough and irrigation to produce the usual variety of cereals and esculents although in appearance harsh and sterile. Numerous herds of black cattle and buffaloes, with here and there a number of ponies and flocks of goats, all in the best condition, were grazing in the plain.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 50°, 2 p. m. 76°, 4 p. m. 65°.

January 2—On my return yesterday afternoon the chiefs and headmen with the Shan Mounng Hpo were waiting at the tent expressing by their looks the pleasure that their forebodings for my safety had not been realized. I explained to them the result of my negotiations and told them to consult together and let me know their decision on the morrow. The heir of the house of Kyay-hpo-gyee (Koon Sha) was in the same happy state as on a former occasion and equally brave in his liquor, so that I was compelled to use the excuse of a headache from which I was suffering to get rid of the party for the day.

This morning the whole party assembled at the tent and after a stormy debate gave in their consent to the arrangement proposed, but said that before signing the agreement it would be requisite to

consult with the old chief Kyay-hpo-gyee, to whose village they proposed I should return.

During the consultation I was highly amused with the excuses put forth by the principal in the cattle lifting, Too-la-pai by name; he said that he took them in satisfaction of a debt of 500 ticals due by Kyau Pee Tee to his late father. As the cattle were not the property of Kyau Pee Tee, I explained to him that the theft was clear, despite his excuse; he then said that he did not steal them but took them for the value of a gold sheathed Dha which Kyau Pee Tee had purchased of a man who had stolen it from him; as I could not admit this in extenuation of the crime he cast about for some more valid excuse and then plumply denied the theft altogether, he was in fact in despair for a good excuse and having failed in all he at last reluctantly consented to restore the stolen cattle.

If amused with my friend the cattle stealer I was in a greater degree annoyed with the Shan MOUNG HPO who opposed so many "buts" to the simple terms under consideration, that I lost all patience and threatened to send him to negotiate the affair in person with Kyau Pee Tee—this had the desired effect, and cut short his objections, but each day brings evidence of the pernicious influence which this man's agency exercises over the Karen chiefs.

Having so far arranged matters I sent the agent MOUNG HPO with presents to Kyau Pee Tee and the Karen chiefs, intimating my intention of returning to the village of Kyay-hpo-gyee to-morrow and instructed MOUNG HPO to inform them of the willingness expressed by the chief men of NOUNG BELAI to conform to the proposals I had made.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 50°; 2 p. m. 77°, 6 a. m. 65°.

January 3—The agent MOUNG HPO returned from Ngwai Toung yesterday evening bringing many complimentary messages from Kyau Pee Tee, he however appears to entertain some doubts of the acquiescence of the Karen-Nee chief in the terms of the proposed arrangement but promises his best agency to accomplish it.

Returned by the same road to the village of Kyay-hpo-gyee. On looking back at the beautiful scenery from the first elevation above the plains, was surprised at the numbers of cattle that were grazing in groups below; several thousands, of which buffaloes

and ponies formed a considerable portion, were within view and on the sides of the hill upon which I stood a flock of goats were browsing in the stubble, all in the best possible condition, some of the males being larger and stouter than any I have ever seen. In fact, of black cattle, buffaloes, goats and pigs, a lean animal of either kind is an exception to the general rule, and from the nature of the climate and the peculiar richness of the vegetation I feel convinced that the whole country, but especially the hilly portion, would prove a sheep and horse breeding locality of the very best description.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 50°, 6 p. m. 77°.

January 4—Sunday. During the day a party of Shan traders with 430 laden bullocks arrived from the northward and encamped near the residence of the chief Kyay-hpo-gyee. I sent a message to the head men requesting them to pay me a visit during the course of to-morrow.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 56°, 2 p. m. 68°, 6 p. m. 61°.

*January 5—*The chief men of the Shan traders came to my tent as requested, and on being informed that a new road direct to Toungoo was opened, by which, should they wish to go to that place, I would send an escort with them to protect them through the localities of the Yaings, they stated in reply that they came from the eastward of Karen-Nee and had engagements with the merchants of Shwai Gyeen to which place they confined their traffic, but that in future they would visit Toungoo. They bring the usual assortment of Shan articles viz. Dhas, hoes, spear heads, plough shares and other articles of ironware, jackets and trousers, coarse tameins and raw silk principally, with beads and rough silver ornaments for the Red Karens. They remain here for a few days to collect stielac from the Karens to carry to Shwai Gyeen.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 53°, 2 p. m. 66°, 6 p. m. 60°.

*January 6—*The heads of villages and others of influence from Noug Belai and this vicinity assembled to-day to sign the agreement proposed to effect a reconciliation with the chiefs of the eastern Karens. Each individual had his own grievance to advance and particular wrong to redress, until after a wearisome repetition of the good effects to result to them by adopting my propositions they at length gave in their consent and signed the document, but

a difficulty then arose on the matter of the restoration of the 13 heads of cattle lifted from Kyau Pee Tee's village. The sons of the old chief now brought forward a claim to them on the part of a relation who, about a year ago, was seized when on the Mobyay frontier by a party of Kyau Pee Tee's people, conveyed to the residence of that chief and detained a prisoner by him until ransomed by the payment of 5 viss of silver. The reason being, as stated by Kyau Pee Tee, that the individual in question had been the chief agent in opening a road to Kyouk Gyee by which the Kallahs were to come and take possession of the country. They claimed therefore the restitution of that sum by Kyau Pee Tee before the cattle were returned. To this argument I replied that the reasons for the theft of the cattle which had been given were as various as the animals in size, sex and color; that I had accepted the promise for an unconditional restoration in good faith and in the same good faith had intimated to Kyau Pee Tee the intention to restore them, and now were I to advance a claim which I had not previously been made aware of he would naturally conclude that I was equivocating and place no confidence in anything that I had said; further, that their persistence in the detention of the cattle for the reasons given would render my agency abortive and that viewing the matter in hand as ineffectual I should forthwith prepare for my return to Toungoo. After another lengthy consultation, tempered by frequent applications to the Koung Yai bottle, they gave in their decision to the effect that what I had said was right and that they would restore the cattle on Kyau Pee Tee's consenting to sign the agreement as they had done, which decision as indicating a sincerity on their part to meet my views I could but concur in.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 57°, 2 p. m. 70°, 6 a. m. 60°.

January 7—The Karen messengers whom I sent to Toungoo with dispatches from halting place on the Poug Loun (16th December) returned yesterday by the road further to the south, along the course of the Khai-ma-hpee-khyoung, which road they say can be made with little labor more practicable than the one by which we came. They bring no letters from Toungoo stating that the regular messengers had left Toungoo with dispatches for me six days previous to their arrival there. I have now been without commu-

nication by letter with Toungoo since the 17th November and fear that the Yaings of the Karen-Nee side of the main ranges have molested the messengers or frightened them from attempting the passage across. To ascertain the cause of the detention, I send a party of Karens who say that they are sufficiently acquainted with the tribes of Yaings on this side and will have no difficulty in inducing them to let the messengers pass without hindrance. It is the custom of the Yaings to extort a present from all passengers through their locations, and Shans and others proceeding in small bodies of 3 or 4 usually leave their gounng bounng or jacket in the possession of these barbarous toll gatherers. It is therefore probable that the wax cloth packet containing despatches may have excited their cupidity and caused a demand for a portion of the contents which the messengers have not acceded to and so they, if not detained, have returned to Toungoo.

The Karen messengers inform me that they were detained by a chief of the Red Karens, whose village is on the line of the trading road to the Salween, at the southern extremity of the country, by name Hpo Khai, who behaved very rudely to them, and finding that they were disciples of the Karen Missionary Qua Lah intimated that he would not allow of the Yaings of his locality receiving instruction, or of the residence of a teacher amongst them and that he would attack any village which permitted it. He also informed them that he would attack me should I attempt a passage through his domains and that he acknowledged no authority in the country but that of Kyau Pee Tee and his party, who he knew would be glad to hear of my death; that he had no care for the consequences and so on. As this brave occupies a portion of the country in the west, within the border of the old chief Kyay-hpo-gyee, I sent for the chief's son and informed him of what I had heard. He said that Hpo Khai was distantly related to him and that he would send a messenger to request him to come and meet me here as the others had done.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 57', 2 p. m. 70', 6 p. m. 64'.

January 12—Having sent a party in search of the missing Karen messengers from Toungoo they returned this morning bringing the long delayed despatches which they found at a Karen village to the west of the boundary range. It appears from their story,

that the regular messengers after reaching that village had been frightened from attempting the passage across the boundary range by a report of my having been attacked and killed by the Yaings on the eastern side, which report having been *confirmed by the augury of the fowl's bones* they deposited the packages with the headman of the place and departed with all haste to their homes.

On my return from investigating the formations in a deep ravine at some distance from camp I came suddenly upon a party celebrating a feast to the spirit of the fountain. In a shady grave of spreading Banyans, from amidst disrupted fragments of limestone, the clear water pours forth a never failing supply to the neighbouring villages, and close to its margin a Nat house of the usual construction had been built. On my approach the musicians were so absorbed in their performances that they did not observe my presence until close to the Nat house. When they saw me however so close to them, they set up a succession of yells, beat the gongs and drums with more than ordinary energy and passed round myself and the Nat house with such ludicrous movements that I could not refrain from laughing, in which they heartily joined, until I withdrew myself to a raised space above the fountain, where I stood silently watching the proceedings and the process of sacrificing a young pig. After examining minutely the tall trees for orchids I left the spot on my return to camp, but as I left the musicians stopt their din and, accompanied by all present, followed me to the brow of the hill of the fountain and there they stood watching me until I disappeared beyond a distant rising ground. As these people were in the daily habit of passing close to my tent and had I supposed satisfied their curiosity as regards my corporeality, I was desirous of ascertaining the cause of this extra excitement of their curiosity when at the spirit fountain. I was then informed that in consequence of my sudden appearance at the feast, at the exact point of the conclusion of the little pig's dying song, the worshippers had regarded me as the visible incarnation of the Nat, which was strengthened by my scrutiny of the trees from which they expected to see me take flight, and although disappointed in this respect, they kept their gaze steadily upon me until I disappeared over an intervening eminence with the full expectation of seeing me spread my wings and fly away.

Such is the pitiable state of superstition which clouds the faculties of this benighted race.

January 13—The Agent Moungh Hpo returned from Ngwai Toung with the agreement unsigned by either Kyau Pee Tee or the chief of the Eastern Karens; the reasons given for this decision were that by signing the document they would become responsible for all acts of violence committed by their people, amongst whom were many evil disposed persons who acknowledged not the authority of the chiefs, and although they concurred in the good intention of the document and the beneficial effects likely to result therefrom they could not under the circumstances sign it. There is doubtless much truth in their statement affecting the disposition of the Eastern Karens, but the circumstance of their unwillingness to effect a reconciliation with their brother of the western division arises, I am of opinion, more from Burman influence than their own spontaneous feelings.

I desired the agent to inform Kyay-hpo-gyee of the result of the negotiation and of my intention of returning to Toungoo.

January 14—In consequence of my message to the chief, he with his sons and the head men came to my tent during the morning. They said that their hearts were sinking at the prospect of my leaving the country, as my absence would be the signal for the Burmese and Eastern Karens to recommence their system of annoyance, and that as I had no power to take the country under our protection, they were desirous of writing their wishes to the Governor-General of India and the Governor of Pegu. In reply I pointed out that the agent would remain, through whom all occurrences which their fears suggested would be made known to me, and through me to the Governor of Pegu, to whom also any letter they wished to forward on the subject they had mentioned should be duly delivered and supported by remarks favorable to their propositions from myself, which appeared to satisfy them.

After occupying the tent for several hours I was rather startled at the invitation of the old chief that I would perform the ceremony of establishing a brotherhood of blood between us according to the customs of his race, and not only between our two selves but with all the other chiefs of inferior grade of the Western Karens. I accepted his proposal, anticipating a rare treat to the

Pioneer Oo-Twai,* but forgot at the time that I had sent him with despatches to Toungoo; however I transferred the business to the Agent Moungh Hpo who declared his willingness to perform the operation, but on my proposing the substitute, I was again thrown back upon my resources by the intimation that Moungh Hpo's agency might do for the inferior chiefs but between two such "great men" as ourselves the interchange of each other's blood alone would suffice. Finding myself in a fix, with a very disagreeable operation staring me in the face, I suggested that as the other chiefs would be better pleased by participating in an ordeal on equal terms, that some other than the blood draught be substituted, if in their ancient customs such an one existed. To my great relief it was stated that the flesh of a bullock killed and eaten by both parties, each party receiving one of the horns of the animal, was a rite considered by them of equal weight with that of the blood draught and usually performed by them when a number of persons became friends and brothers. I of course eagerly assented to this ordeal which implied that like as we had partaken of the bullock's flesh which had entered our bodies, so might our friendship mutually enter each other's hearts and there steadfastly remain so long as the horns remained crooked.

The chief and party returned to their village after informing me that they would send messengers to assemble the other chiefs to the feast of the bullock and requesting me to defer my departure until their arrival.

Range of Ther. for the past week—57° 73°

January 16—The chiefs and head men of the Western Karens having assembled, the bullock was killed by the Mussulman Jemadar of the elephants, to enable the whole party to partake of the flesh. The chiefs each carried away their portion and one of the horns was duly delivered with much ceremony to me. I suggested that both the horns should be given to me for the purpose of getting them ornamented in silver, the one for the chief being returned to him; to this he assented, giving both the horns into my charge and saying that the one in my possession should be as a token of amity for ever between myself and the Western Karen chiefs and that its possession by any other individual who might receive it from me

* See note 3.

would entitle him to the same attentions and consideration as were due to myself.

January 17—Escorted by the son of the chief we commenced our route homeward, taking a line across the undulations to the main trading road in which many large villages were passed, whose population were busy in the fields preparing the land for the next season's crop, the women forming by far the larger portion of the laborers ; some with children slung upon their backs were working lustily with the spade-hoe apparently suffering no inconvenience from the burden.

Course to main trading road S. S. W., distant 6 miles

Along main trading road to halting place on the Nan-pai Khyoung S. distance 11 miles.

January 18—Sunday—Halted for the day ; ascertained the height by boiling point to be 2,763 feet.

January 19—The road from the Pass into the undulating portion of the country (at 5 miles north of halting place)—lies along the base of a congeries of low hills, much broken until passing the main range of limestone, when it becomes more level and continues for a distance of 15 miles south to the Salween and thence across high ranges south to Kyouk Gyee and Shway Gynee.

Course to-day down the stream Nan-pai, crossing it several times, to its juncture with the Poung Loung which forms the boundary of Kyay-hpo-gyee's country to the south. Both on the Nan-pai and the Poung Loung a large quantity of teak was seen in process of being dragged to the rafts in the latter ; the trees consisted chiefly of fine young timber of small size and by far the larger portion green ; it is cut indiscriminately by the Karens for the sake of the 3 rupees per log which they receive from the purchaser.

Course S. estimated distance 10 miles-

January 20—Course to-day of a similar character as yesterday along the flanks of low hills and crossing the drainage into the Poung Loung repeatedly. Left the main road at 5 miles from last halting place and diverged to the west along a path made by the elephants in dragging the timber. In the more inaccessible parts of the hills the teak forms the principal forest vegetation and many magnificent trees are there untouched, the consequence of their isolated locality. At a rough computation many thousands of

such trees were passed on the line of march, each worth in the log from 50 to 800 rupees.

Course along the main road S. 5 miles.

do. up to halting place }
in the jungle..... } S.W. 4 "

Having sent on the agent MOUNG HPO to the Karen-Nee chief HPO KHAI mentioned in the notice of the 7th instant, he returned this evening bringing a message from the chief to the effect that he was subordinate to the chief of the Eastern Karens, without whose consent he dare not subscribe to the agreement signed by the western chiefs associated with the KYAY HPO, but that in return for the friendship I had evinced in sending presents to himself and PA BAN GALAY he would direct the Karens under his authority to afford every assistance to the Shan traders who might follow the road I was opening to TOUNGOO; he cautioned me against the treachery of the YAINGS who he said were no better than jungle dogs. As nothing was said about his intention of molesting me, I concluded that the report of the Karen messengers was a bit of harmless bravado which he had indulged in at their expense. A Burman who acts as agent for the chief with the timber traders from MAULMAIN accompanied MOUNG HPO to pay his master's compliments; he also warned me against the treachery of the tin working Yaings, who he said had threatened to exterminate me should I attempt the passage across the mountains in their direction. I told him to tell HPO KHAI that I was used to such threats and that I found it the safest plan on all occasions to proceed to the point from whence they came, and such I intended to adopt on the present occasion, and with the assistance of the Yaings themselves open the old trading road to TOUNGOO by which the traders were anxious to proceed, with the object of obtaining a supply of tin as a portion of their investments.

From this point it became necessary to cut a road along the line of the old trading one, which was in many places obliterated and for the most part covered with high brush jungle. The following are the day's routes in succession, the line crossing distinct ranges of hills involving a variation of altitude daily of from 1,200 to 3,500 feet.

January 21—Course to top of range.. S. W. 1 mile.
do S. W. by W. 1 mile.
do S. 2 "
do S. W. 2 "

Halting place on the So-lo-lu, mountain stream falling into the Khai Mahpai.

January 22—Course ascent..... S. W. 1 mile.
do W. S. W. 2½ "

Halting place on the Thee-lu mountain stream falling into the Khai Mahpai.

The road to-day through the Pine Belt at a height of 4,500 feet.

January 23—Course..... S. W. 2 miles.

Halting place at the Yaing village of To-lo-lu, the site of the tin deposits.

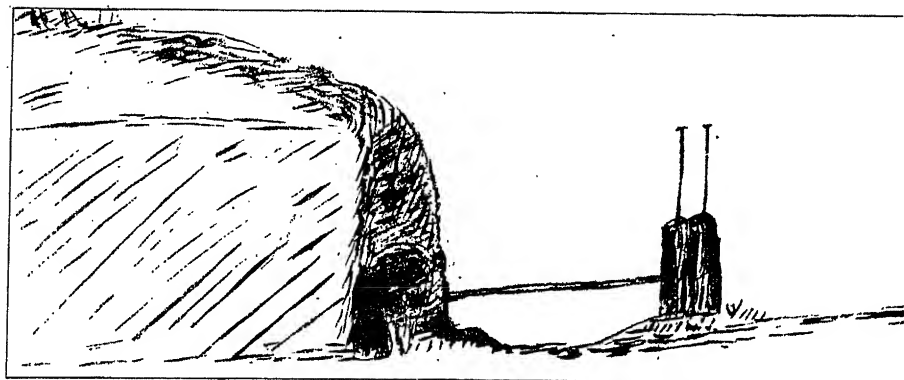
From the halting place of yesterday the line of road had been cut up the steep face of the hill, too difficult for the elephants; it therefore became necessary to select a more accessible point and open it as we proceeded along, the elephants being of great assistance in trampling down the high grass jungle and cane brakes.

It was my intention to have remained here for a day to examine minutely the tin deposits and the associated rocks, but as the mountain stream from which the supply of water is obtained was at a considerable distance, I was compelled to make a hasty inspection of the locality during the few hours of the afternoon.

Proceeding with a party of Yaings to the tin workings I found that both sides of the water course consisted of a blue indurated slate in which lines of quartz of varying dimensions penetrated, and at the junction of the planes of the two rocks, the ore (peroxide) formed irregular lodes, the quartz being more or less impregnated with the metal. Specimens of the quartz shew long crystals of schorl accompanying those of tin, and in the washed ore obtained from disintegration of the rock at the bottom of the lode I found "wolfrain," black sulphurate and cubic iron ores, with a few minute particles of Malachite, giving sufficient evidence of the existence of that ore (carbonate of copper) in the stanniferous slate of the main formation. With the exception of the open spaces worked into the quartz lines, the whole surface was so

thickly clothed with jungle vegetation that no connected observations of the locality could be made, but from the numerous fissures indicating the points of deposits worked by the Yaings there can be no doubt but that the ore is extensively distributed throughout the whole clay slate system of the locality.

The process of working the ore as followed by the Yaings is rude in the extreme. Following the lines of quartz that shew the largest amount of wastage, with a small iron spud they separate the crystals of the ore from the matrix, which, with the deposited debris on the floor of the lode, they wash and smelt in small furnaces cut out of the hill side, of sufficient capacity to contain 2 to 5 viss of the ore.



Green wood and charcoal is the fuel used in reducing the ore with a flux of limestone, but the process is so inefficient that at least 1-5th of the metal remains in the scoria. These deposits if worked by Chinese or Shans, even with their inefficient method, would prove an inexhaustible source of wealth to the undertakers.

January 24—Course from halting place up the drainage of the central main range to the height of 4,800 feet—then along the ridges through Pine forests to the point of the separation of the watershed 4 miles, that to the eastward draining into the Salween by the Khai Mah-pee Khyoung and that to the west into the Sitang by the Thouk-yai Khat and its affluent the Khye Khyoung.

Course W. 2 miles. | W. N. W. 4 miles.

Halting place in the jungle at one of the sources of the Kye Khyoung.

Thermometer 10 p. m. 38°

January 25—Sunday—Halted for the day—found the height of our position to be 3,297 feet.

January 26—Course along spurs of the centre range round the base of which at the higher elevations the drainage is still to the eastward, and from the level line of the road the hill ranges of this day's march may be said to form a part of the main or central system.

Many Yaing villages observed on the line of march, their cultivations extending into the depths of the valleys but their villages placed high up in the steep gorges for better security from the Red Karens.

Course estimated W. N. W. distance 8 miles.

From halting place of yesterday the descent commenced into the valley of the Sitang, the road having been opened by the Yaings of Oo-Bo along lateral spurs from the main range. At a point on the line of march the plains of the Sitang with the various bendings in the river and the city of Toungoo were visible through a break in the distant mural range of the valley,—Toungoo bearing W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. distant about 35 miles.

Descent of altitude during the march 3,200 feet to the Christian village of Oo-Bo on a feeder of the Khye Khyoung.

Course estimated W. distance 5 miles.

January 28—Remained at Oo-Bo to pay the the Yaings for their labor in opening the road on the west of the central range to this point, and to open the road hence to the Khye Khyoung through the old cultivations by the elephants passing through, the grass and reed vegetation being so thick that the Karens object to the work.

Altitude of halting place 1,639 feet.

Thermometer 6 a. m. 53°, 2 p. m. 85°, 6 p. m. 68°

January 29—Proceeded along the Loo Tsou Loo mountain stream and across a series of low hills which cover the flank of the main ranges to the Khye Khyoung, one of the main affluents of the Thouk-yai Khat, the latter being about 40 feet broad coursing to the N. W. over a very rocky bed with a swift current

indicating a steep inclination, the road then led along the stream, crossing it many times, to halting place on its left bank near a series of hot springs.

Course W. to Khye Khyoung distance $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

do W. by N. down the stream $1\frac{1}{2}$ „

January 30—In the early morning proceeded to examine the hot springs in the vicinity which occur along a line of about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile on both banks of the stream. The water issues from beneath the granite blocks composing the debris of the narrow valley at the margin of the stream. The temperature of the spring shewed 99°, 125° and 128° at the principal sources—the water having a decidedly alkaline taste leaving an orchery scoriacious froth along the line of its course and depositing an alkaline salt on the stones in its vicinity. I took specimens of both the water and the deposited salt for examination, and endeavored to obtain a section of the bank for examination of the accompanying formations. This I was not able to effect, however, as the water percolating very copiously through a loose granite sand filled up the excavation as fast as it was dug out. The fragmentary rocks associated with the granite were blue and white quartz, clay Jasper and indurated slates of the Silurian system with occasional nodules of a ferruginous sandstone similar to the formation of the main range of the locality.

Altitude of hot springs 546 feet.

Moved camp to the village of Nau-thu-doo on the secondary range, the road being excessively steep in some parts, causing much delay and labor to the elephants.

Course W., estimated distance $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

January 31—Proceeded to the top of the range and encamped at the Karen village (Christian) of Bangalee, from which point the Sitang valley is seen beyond the ranges which stretch far into the plain, the city of Toungoo bearing west distant about 25 miles.

Course for the march W. S. W. distance $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles,

Height of position 3,300 feet | Thermometer range 63. to 79°

As my present camp is within easy communication with Toungoo and many circumstances combine to render a short stay here necessary, I now close my journal of the tour, but in doing so, a few brief observations of the objects in relation therewith will not be misplaced.

Both as regards the passage outward as well as on my return, it will have been seen that many tribes of wild Karens have been met with of whose very existence the Burman government had no knowledge ; nor is this surprising, when it is known that the Karens of the locality from which I now write, although within the space of a day's journey, were regarded by that government as Yaings or uncivilized people of the mountains, from whom no revenue could be obtained, and in common with the whole race were hunted down without remorse and carried into hopeless slavery. Nor was the Burman government the sole agent in these atrocities,—tribes of Karens differing but slightly in language and general characteristics, but more accustomed to intercourse with the inhabitants of the valley, were incited by the Burmese officials to emulate their own ruthless acts, until by the commission of attacks, plunderings and seizures of the persons of their weaker brethren, a system of retaliation and inter-tribal blood-feuds was created which strengthened their distrust, separated their communities widely from each other, and in the absence of all check upon their vicious propensities maintained the state of implacable enmity amongst the tribes which it was the object of the Burmese to effect.

It might be considered too sweeping an assertion were I to say that the state of social relations as above noted has passed away generally, but I may safely aver that of the large communities of these wild races who people the mountain ranges of the Pong Loun, aggregating a total of from 55 to 60,000 souls, fully one-third have during the past 3 years received the light of civilization through the combined agency of government and the Karen Missionary Qua-lah with his assistants,—have cast aside their former evil practices, and, cemented by a bond of amity and brotherhood with their kindred tribes, have raised themselves in the social scale by the adoption of the pure faith of Christianity and will eventually be found willing recipients of our laws to render them useful subjects of our government.

And, as the exercise of a kindly interest in, and a due consideration for their position, had the desired effect of procuring the restoration of a number of persons detained as slaves by the tribes of Yaings of the central ranges, it is fervently hoped that the same

good results will accrue from my personal intercourse with the inhabitants of Karen-Nee to the eastward of those ranges, and as the light of Christianity in its irresistible course pierces the darkness of that region of beauty and fertility, so it is to be hoped may its inhabitants be raised by our agency from their present abject condition and placed in the Christian fraternity which in God's own good time will spread its benign influence from the ranges of the Poug Loug to the far extending waters of the Salween river.

E. O'RILEY.

Bangalee, Feby. 3rd 1857—Since the foregoing was written and on the day of my arrival at my present camp, a most cold blooded and cruel murder was perpetrated by the Yaings of Ta-lo-bwa, the victim being a little girl of about eight years of age, the daughter of the Tsee Kai of Oo-Boo, a Christian village, the halting place of my camp on the descent of the central range by the drainage to the westward. I shall relate the particulars of this act of cruel and brutal murder, in which my own and the lives of the Karen Na-Khans were imperilled, as they will afford an interesting insight into the savage nature of these tribes, and shew a motive of action which indicates a race of the most implacable savage nature.

About two years ago, two youths, Burmans of the village of May-balan, proceeded to the locations of the Yaings in the vicinity of the tribe of Ta-lo-bwa, for the purpose of trade and on the road in returning to their homes were met by several individuals of that tribe who attacked and speared them to death, leaving their bodies which they fell. On the circumstance being reported to me, I directed the Myo-Oke to proceed to the place, ascertain the fact of the murder, and if satisfied that the people of Ta-lo-bwa were the perpetrators, to send for the chief of the tribe and demand the delivery to me of the murderers. After a long delay, during which it became necessary to arm a body of Karens and Burmese, and threaten to attack the tribe, the chief at length brought down four individuals, two of whom, fearing the consequence, made their escape when at a day's march from Tougoo. The remaining two were placed in confinement and after a strict investigation, finding

that, although accompanying the party which attacked and slew the Burmese youths, they persistently denied the actual commission of the crime, I represented their case to government and recommended their release, on the grounds that the actuating motive for the murder was one of retaliation for the death of two of their people in an attack upon their tribe by Burmans of the village of Mayba-lan many years ago, but which the custom of their race rendered it imperative upon them to avenge whenever the opportunity offered, however remote that period might be.

During the reference to government the two men in confinement exhibited symptoms of a disease of the heart, the invariable consequence to the hill races of a prolonged residence in the valley, involving a change of habits and climate from those of their mountain homes, and fearing that the good effect of the merciful consideration of government towards them would be lost by any longer delay, I took upon myself the responsibility of their release and sent a message to the chief to come and take to their homes the two men in confinement. Here however a difficulty presented itself which I had not previously foreseen—the fear of contagion, which operates so powerfully throughout the whole Karen races, was doubly excited when it became known that sickness was the cause of their restoration to the tribe, and as neither the chief nor even the immediate relatives of the sick men would come in they succumbed to the disease and died in jail.

Aware of the custom of these tribes to demand life for life, I took the precaution to have one of the Na-Khans present at the death of the two Yaings, for the purpose of informing the tribe of the circumstance attending their sickness and its fatal result and averting the *onus* which in taking their lives by a public execution I should have incurred; and so, having sent intimation of their death and an invitation to the chief and the relations of the deceased men to meet me when near their location, en route to Karen-Nee, with the intention of giving them a full explanation and softening their affliction by a few presents, I dismissed the matter from my mind. Not so however the people of Ta-lo-bwa as the sequel will shew.

The chief of Oo-Boo previously mentioned, in concert with the Na-Khans, were the principal agents in procuring delivery of

two men of Ta-lo-bwa up to me, and many threats had been made of taking their lives, unless those of the dead men were satisfied by payment to the tribe of two Kye-dzees and 30 ticals of silver, of which no notice was taken; and although on my passage across the mountains I invited the chief and people of Ta-lo-bwa to come to my camp, they kept aloof, brooding over their revenge. On my return route, crossing the ranges at a point within a day's journey of the Ta-lo-bwa tribe, I again essayed to communicate with them personally, but without effect, although I remained for a day at the village of Oo-Boo for this purpose, and not until yesterday, when the murder of the little girl was reported to me, was I acquainted with the blood-thirsty disposition and intentions of these fiends towards me, of which the following particulars were related by one of the Karen Na-Khans. From his statement it appears that a man of the Oo-Boo tribe, who is related to that of Ta-lo-bwa, was present at the latter village on the day of my arrival at Oo-Boo and was witness to a conversation by several men of the tribe, who concerted a plan to kill me and the Na-Khans in the dead of the night. Accordingly at midnight some 20 men of the tribe proceeded with torches down to my camp at Oo-Boo, two of whom were to enter my tent and spear me as I slept, while other four were to enter the Zayat at the village, in which the Na-Khans slept, and spear them through the bamboo floor from below. Following their plan of blood the two men descended the mountain stream near which my tent was pitched and had approached close to it when the glare of the torches held by the rest of their companions who remained behind to cover the retreat of the murderers frightened one of the elephants near which they had unknowingly approached, the noise and confusion which followed caused the torch bearers to extinguish their lights and escape, and the men near my tent and those who had gone to the Zayat partaking of the alarm hastily retreated without accomplishing their deadly purpose. Losing their way in the darkness they remained near the stream until day break and then observing a little girl, the daughter of the chief of Oo-Boo, who had come down from the village for water, they plunged their spears through her body and departed. But a few minutes elapsed ere the mother following her child found her dead, with the blood of the innocent girl still

flowing and mingling with the clear water of the mountain stream.

In this passage of peril to my life, I feel an overwhelming sense of gratitude to the Almighty for my preservation, as on my crossing the boundary range into our own territory I discontinued the guard at my tent during the night and in His care alone my safety lay.

I may add that the particulars here related were given to the Na-Khan by the Yaing of Oo-Boo who did not leave Ta-lo-bwa until after the return of the party from their unsuccessful attempt upon our lives.

E. O'RILEY.

NOTES.

(1). The large and valuable trade of the Shans from the territories lying to the N. E. of the Burman Empire (and who are, west of the Salween, tributary to the Burman government) has hitherto had its course through the Burman district of Kye-toung, to the north of Toungoo, thence through the valley of the Sitang to the ports of Rangoon and Maulmain. The heavy exactions and other vexatious imposts however to which the traders were subjected by every petty official on that route to Toungoo induced the chief traders to essay the long established route through Karen-Nee into the Shway Gyeen district thus avoiding the northerly road via Kye-toung to Toungoo. On the first occasion, 2 years since, much difficulty was experienced owing to the rapacity of the chiefs of Karen-Nee, who following the example of the Burmese, levied arbitrary imposts on the merchandise as it passed through the country, but in consequence of a friendly correspondence having arisen between the chief Kyay-lpo-gye, the Deputy Commissioner of Shway-gyeen, Captain Birdmore and myself, wherein we pointed out the great advantages that would result from a free and unrestricted course of trade through his territory, that chief permitted the traders to pass on payment of a stipulated tax upon each bullock load. Captain Birdmore at the same time having opened the road by the eastern ranges of the Pong-Loung into his district, the Shans with their merchandise to the amount of from 4 to 5,000 bullock loads have passed on their annual trading expeditions to the coast by that route.

The object of the present undertaking is therefore to open a road east from Toungoo through the ranges of the Pong-Loung striking upon the central trading road into the Shway-gyeen district, by which the traders may come direct from Karen-Nee to Toungoo, and so avail themselves of a market for their goods which is at present lost to them by the long detour to the southward of Toungoo via the Kyouk-gyee and Shway-gyeen road.

(2). These two men belong to the converted Christian Karens of the American Baptist Mission, and are in the employ of the Na-Khans or agents to the tribes of (wild) Karens in the vast mountainous region of Pong-Loung, many of which are in the most degraded state of uncivilization. They accompany me for the purpose of acting as a medium of communication with those tribes through whose locations it will be found necessary to open the road.

(3). The nature of this individual's position in our party requires a few words in explanation of the sanguinary appellation conferred upon him. In the foregoing note I have alluded to the tribes of wild Karens which inhabit these mountains, for the most part a turbulent and vicious race, who are in the habit of making forays on other tribes, seizing all the individuals they can and selling them into slavery to the Red Karens on the Salween river:—thus they are the dread of the more peaceful tribes who however lose no opportunity of inflicting a severe retaliation upon the

Yaings. Under this state of feeling towards each other it is a natural deduction that the man-stealers should live in constant fear of attack, and only to those who have sworn brotherhood do they grant permission to pass their locations unmolested.

The ceremony of this interchange of fraternity is either by sucking a portion of each other's blood from a puncture in the arm, or by infusing a drop in water and drinking it, the chief of the tribe being the operee as brother to the stranger. It was during a previous tour among these tribes that I found it necessary to conform to this custom, as without it the tribe refused permission to pass their lands and I should have been necessitated to draw blood by a sharper process and so closed our chance of friendship for ever. Under these circumstances, having been allowed to nominate a substitute for the process, the man Ootwai offered himself, was accepted by the chief, sucked his blood, and cemented our brotherhood for life. And now that we are proceeding through mountain fastnesses, the residence of these wild tribes, the blood sucker accompanies the party as pioneer, hence his title should be with more justice the "peace maker," the blood sucking process being the means to that end.

(4). For their better security against sudden attack the whole of the tribes of Karens of these mountain ranges live together under one roof, each family having a small space partitioned off from the others; sometimes as many as 300 to 400 souls are thus herded together who acknowledge the authority of a chief of the house, eng-thoo-gyee, but do not adopt the social system of property in common. In answer to my enquiries I learnt that in their cultivations, each family with its collateral branches plants a separate plot, the produce of which is housed in a granary of their own and forms their subsistence. And in reply to my question, whether any provision was made for the old, decrepid and sick numbers of the community who possessed no immediate relations, I was told, that during the Burman time so great was the insecurity attending their very existence that their hearts were hardened against affliction and pity for the distressed was rarely shewn, so that a man possessing nothing lived upon the roots of the field until nature became exhausted when he died; others again who evinced a disposition of shirking labor and become a burthen or otherwise troublesome to the community were sold to the Yaings of the eastern ranges, but that since the teacher had appeared amongst them and they had heard also from my own mouth that the time of oppression and tyranny had passed away a better state of affairs had obtained with them, and that charity as a divine precept taught them by the teacher was observed by all the tribes professing Christianity.

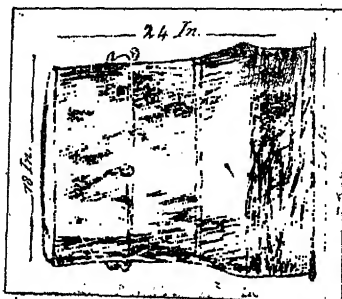
While waiting for the passage of the elephants up the steep ascent, I was amused to observe the whole of the inhabitants of the village swarming up the side of the hill to where I stood, and forming a line along the path. Thinking that it was a simple act of curiosity that brought them out, I stood for a short time watching their proceedings and on my moving forward to ascend the hill, an old man who was in the last stage of emaciation from asthma came forward with solemn pace and placed his hand in mine, giving me the up and down movement of a pump-handle shake, and then followed the mass of old and young, male and female, from the baby slung on its mother's back whose little paw was drawn across her shoulder and with her own proffered for the shake. I groaned in spirit at the task before me but making a desperate effort I plunged into the mass, grasping as many fingers as I could collect at once, performed the one, two of the pump-handle and so on with a fresh batch until I completed the whole, blessing myself at its conclusion. This custom of hand-shaking has been introduced by the Karen teachers who are indulged in the luxury by the American Missionaries; in fact it would appear to be a formula of their national creed. In the instance to which I now refer however it is decidedly *inconvenient*, as I can safely aver that not a single individual of all that crowd of humanity which passed my hands was free from a certain cutaneous disease not to be mentioned to ears polite, and those not enjoying the veritable *chose* if any there were, had the scaly skin disease (a form of leprosy I believe) so loathsome to the sight. In fact a more unclean by mass of humanity than these embryo Christians I have rarely met with. In talking over the matter of this propensity to dirt with one of the Na-Khans and pointing to the healthful mountain streams which a bountiful providence had placed there for their use, he said that it was a deep rooted superstition which prevented them from the use of water, to which they attributed sickness and death.

Surely with the symbolical rite of their initiation into the Christian faith

as taught by the Baptists it were equally merciful to inculcate with these poor wretches the cleansing of the body by the same element, by which much of the sickness they suffer might be averted, and if by such teaching they could be brought to appreciate the use of soap occasionally, more valuable by far than either Godfrey's Cordial or the Balm of Gilead, it would prove a real blessing to infants as well as mothers, some of whom (infants) slung at the backs of their mothers were covered with blotches of the disease.

After bidding adieu to the unclean lot, the Pioneer Oo-Twai gave me the gratuitous information that the disease was catching and that was the reason they all enjoyed it, living as they did all together in one house. I took the hint however, and on my arrival at the next mountain stream had a good scouring with sand of the honored "manus" and deputed the Pioneer to stand hand shaker for me on all future occasions of the kind.

(5). Throughout the whole of the tribes of the mountain races included between the Salween and the Sitang rivers a passion for the possession of these instruments (Kye-Dzeis) predominates. To such an extent does it operate with some of those of the more secluded valleys of these mountains that instances are by no means rare of their having bartered their children and relations for them. A superstition, common to all mountain tribes which I have met, that the deep sounding note of a monotoned instrument propitiates the presiding Nats (genii) of the mountains, and averts evil from them, is a reasonable enough cause for such a propensity to possess them, and those tribes who have the greatest number are regarded as the more powerful. In all their gatherings, whether for peaceful enjoyment or preparatory to an expedition to settle some intertribal feud, the Kye-Dzeis are brought forth and beaten, and as the resonance name echos back from the deep gorges of the mountain glens they regard it as the approving answer of the spirit, become excited by drinking a spirit rudely distilled from rice and a scene of the wildest revelry ensues.



The above sketch of a Kye-dzei, an heir-loom of the tribe of May-ga-doorg, will give an idea of the form of these gongs or drums, which are beaten in the centre and beaten with a buffer or like Hudibras "drum ecclesiastic" thumped with the fist instead of a stick at the large end, the smaller one being open as represented. They are made by the Shans of a metal consisting of copper and spelter of about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in thickness and profusely ornamented in a rude style on the surface of the cylinder with small figures of animals, elephants, frogs, monkeys and dogs, principally, projecting therefrom. They vary in size, some being much larger than the one represented and are valued accordingly from 50 to 500 taicals of silver.

I was assured by the chief of the Ley-pya-gyee tribe that these instruments were the originating cause of all the intertribal feuds which at present existed amongst them. The loss of one by theft or from having been lent to another tribe

and never returned was a cause of revenge handed down from generation to generation and until satisfied either by the exchange of a man stolen from the indebted tribe for a Kye-dzei to replace the lost one, a cause of enmity would ever exist between them.

(7). One of these men from the eastern locations of the central range with several of his people had features so remarkably Chinese as to make the difference of race between them and the Yaings of Karen-Nee at once obvious and distinctive. On enquiry, I found that they were almost an isolated class from their position in the higher valleys of the central range, and were regarded by the Yaings as a ferocious and turbulent race, living in constant hostility with the surrounding tribes whom they seize and sell into slavery; they professed a sort of nominal subservance to the authority of Kyay-hpo-gye but paid neither tribute nor tax of any kind. Their language is a dialect of that spoken by the whole of the races of Yaings, but local differences in this respect are common even in separate communities of the same tribe (as will be seen in a subsequent note). I am of opinion however that the various tribes at present inhabiting this mountain region have found refuge here from the tyranny and oppression characteristic of all the despotic governments on the N. and E. and that in common with the Karens—or the generic term for a people who at some distant period were driven from the upper waters of the Irrawaddy—Shans, mountaineers from the N. W. frontier of China and Siam, more especially from the Siamese border provinces east of the Salween river, have at various periods planted themselves in its fastnesses and in the course of succeeding generations have become in a great measure amalgamated.

(8). It is a peculiar feature of the intercourse between the Karens of these mountains, that each community (consisting usually of from 30 to 50 families) possesses a defined boundary separating the land forming the cultivation of each village. In general this is marked by a mountain stream, in other cases by the line of hills surrounding their location carried down to the drainage at the base. To pass this line, which has been marked by the ancestors of the tribes, is deemed an aggression to be expiated only by the seizure of one of the individuals of the trespassing tribe and where this has occurred in the years long past the sense of grievance is kept alive by being transmitted to each succeeding generation, thus forming a prolific source of enmity and wide spread alienation between sections of the same race. To such an extent did this prevail during the Burman government that many villages within sight of each other held no communication for years, nor would individuals of either village pass the boundary line of their cultivations under any circumstances except for the commission of some act of violence on its neighbouring community.

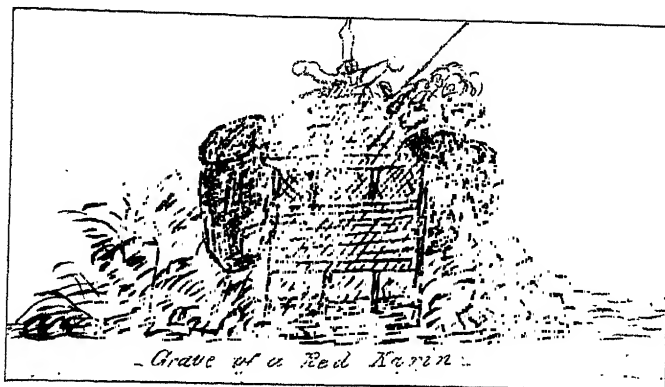
During the course of a conversation on the above subject with the Karen Missionary (Qua lah) he reverted to the isolation of villages of Karens from each other as the operating cause of the diversity of dialect existing in their language and this will doubtless be conceded if it be borne in mind that linguistic terms of ordinary import and in general use as idiomatic forms of expression have a cycle of transition even in the languages of Europe and eventually become lost or so altered from their originality as to be obsolete in that form; how much more rapid therefore must the transition be in a state of society such as that described? To this cause must certainly be attributed the disparity of idiom which prevails throughout the whole Karen races where no foreign admixture has occurred, and this is found to prevail more especially with the tribes of Dyaks in Borneo under a state of social relations even more antagonistic than that of these tribes of the Karens race.

It would form a most interesting subject for ethnological research to trace the affinity, if any exist, between these mountain races and the Dyaks of Borneo of which the Kyans form the most numerous section.

(9). On the subject of the perpetual fear and dread of attack in which these poor wretches pass their existence the Karen Teacher told me that it was the custom of some of the more barbarous tribes of the Pagoh for the women to keep watch during the night while the men slept and that at early dawn each man with spear in hand made a minute inspection of the pathways leading to the village to ascertain whether any one had approached it during the night. On detecting the tracks of strangers they bent some of the leaves of the vegetation double near the foot marks to indicate danger to any of their community who chanced to pass.

On one occasion he was present at a Pagoh village when in the early night the alarm was given by two of the men who had returned late from their cultivations that the Yan-thai or marauders were approaching the village. All the people and dogs outside at once ascended the high platform of the house drawing up the ladders after them, rushing tumultuously together within the house they in concert with the dogs set up such shrieking that almost stunned the senses; during this diabolical hubbub the attacking party had approached within the enclosure and were about to thrust their spears through the bamboo floor of the house to make the inmates descend, when, having quelled the noise and confusion, he told the men to depart threatening to shoot them if they persisted in their attack, this having no effect he fired off a small pistol which one of his followers usually carried and in a moment all was still as the grave—the explosion had done its work and the people of the house were freed from further molestation.

(10). This custom of interment of the dead, placing on and within the grave articles adapted to the consumption and use of the living obtains almost generally throughout the Karen race, the difference where it exists being that of the method of disposal of the remains, some of the tribes using incineration instead of burial, but even in that case the bones or any remnants that remain of them are carefully collected and interred with a portion of the valuables belonging to the deceased.



It may be presumed that a ceremony shrouded by a darkened and dread superstition has passed through many generations without any material alteration from the process of its nominal institution; if so it affords an unerring data from which we may trace the origin of these mountain races to the ancient Mongols whose tartar tribes as far back as history carries us used similar forms of sepulture accompanied however by the sacrifice of life at the tomb. And if the doctrine of distinct races of men and their physiognomical peculiarities be taken as a medium of identification then the almost perfect Esquimaux features and shape of heads which prevails generally, but in some of the wilder tribes more especially, mark them as the descendants of the ancient Tartar hordes who, as we read, swept from their inhospitable steppes across the regions of central Asia far into the plains of Hindustan whence they have subsequently been dispersed into the more inaccessible mountain systems of the Himalaya and its subordinate ranges.

I subsequently learnt that on the interment of any influential person a slave and a pony were secured near the grave but not sacrificed and although bound with the purpose of preventing escape they invariably released themselves from their bonds and escaped, the slave in such case regaining freedom from all previous claims.

Equally important as a data of investigation with other rites and ceremonies is that of their superstitions and modes of procedure consequent thereon. That of augury by means of the bones of fowls as prevailing throughout the whole tribes is I think of the first importance in guiding such enquiry. The method of proceeding as witnessed by me was as follows—the leg and wing bones of the fowl on being cleaned were examined, each pair separately, and in the small apertures found on each a small piece of bamboo was inserted shewing the direction into the bone—the inclination of the piece of bamboo in a uniform direction, the number of the holes in each bone, their evenness or otherwise, corresponding with the test of their own proposition before examining the bones, forming the reply negative or otherwise to the question involved. As many irregularities occur in these small air passages the course of the augury has a corresponding variety of signification so that it requires an adept in the act of divination to read the oracle correctly.

(11)*. This labor of the women was brought prominently to my notice by a (Shan) Poon-gye (Buddhist priest) who resides here with the few Shans who have been compelled to take refuge in the place to escape from the persecution of their own governments. He said that during the rains at the period of planting their fields the women were occupied almost entirely out of doors while the men remained at home to cook their own meals, that the females rarely enjoyed a regular meal during that period and were content with a head of maize or a handful of Kyeek, millet, or other grain with which to satisfy hunger as they proceeded to their daily labor; they however are permitted the indulgence in the use of the intoxicating Koug Yai and spirits which they drink to excess on occasions of general festivity and with the aid of the never failing pipe, evince a state of happiness and contentment not to be expected from their degraded condition.

(12). In the absence of all form of government of a protective character the Red-Karens invariably carry arms, usually a light match-lock with a dagger in the waist belt; in the absence of the former from one to three light bamboo spears with iron heads and a Dha form the equipment of the adult male population who are as prone to improve the opportunity for aggression on their neighbours as the latter are upon them, hence the necessity for the universal spear and match-lock which prevails and I am informed by the Shans who have long resided in the country that the Red-Karens hold life very cheaply and in their quarrels with each other on the most trifling occasions use their arms with deadly effect.

The uncontrolled license of action which prevails throughout the whole country, is a prolific source of aggressive practices on the part of the chiefs of villages, who, on occasions of their cupidity being excited by the information of coveted property in the possession of their neighbours, concert measures of attack with any volunteers who may offer, and mounted on their ponies in the dead of the night rush upon the devoted village, plunder it, set fire to the houses and retreat ere the inhabitants have recovered from their terror. Mounted on their high stuffed saddles with match-locks lung at their back they bear no bad resemblance to the marauding Cossack of the Don, to whom in disposition also the resemblance is no less striking.

February 1st 1857—As I anticipated, so it has occurred, the offending Yaings on hearing of the intention of the Myo-oke to visit them with an armed party for the purpose of carrying out my orders to effect the release of the man detained came to meet him with the man whom they restored and made many excuses for their former disobedience. Others of the same tribes who have hitherto been the dread of the weaker villages have also come voluntarily and placed themselves under our rule.

* The reference to this note on p. 442 has been omitted.



THE MALDIVIAN ALPHABET.

WE insert a letter from M. d'Abbadie which we hope will attract the attention of those who may have the means of procuring a complete alphabet. There should be no difficulty in doing so in Ceylon.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

Sir,—After applying in vain to the British Asiatic Society and to the Paris one, of which I am a member since 1839, I beg leave to entrust you with the solution of a grand desideratum, i. e. the knowledge of the *complete ancient* character used by the inhabitants of the Maldivian islands. When I was in the Red Sea in 1840, and while blind from Ophthalmia, I was visited by the late Lieut. Christopher I. N. who gave me his pamphlet containing a vocabulary of the Maldivian language, its *modern* character, and the consonants of the *ancient* character when vocalised by a (ba, ga, &c.). Unlike the Ethiopic alphabet, that of the old Maldivians altered notably the shapes of the letters according as the different vowels were united with them. The publication of the complete alphabet in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* or elsewhere would be a boon to science.

It might likewise lead to the deciphering of a curious letter sent by the King of Inarya to him of Gojjam. This letter is now in my possession and although I went to Inarya with the view of deciphering it I am as yet ignorant of the alphabet. The language is probably that of Tambaro or Kamba of which I have made a vocabulary containing the phrases which must have been ordered by the King of Inarya. I handed the letter to Lieutenant Christopher who recognized a great resemblance if not identity with the Maldivian character and then wrote for me a *partial* ancient Maldavian alphabet. Had it not been for my blindness I ve then got that alphabet completed. Several of Lieut. Christopher's characters are certainly in the unknown letter, but I found it impossible to get into the Kamba country without undergoing a greater loss of time than I could afford, after devoting nearly four years to the purpose.

ANTOINE D'ABBADIE,
Correspt. de l'Institut de France.
Paris, 31 rue Bellechasse, 7th May 1857.

Cal
1.5.74.

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